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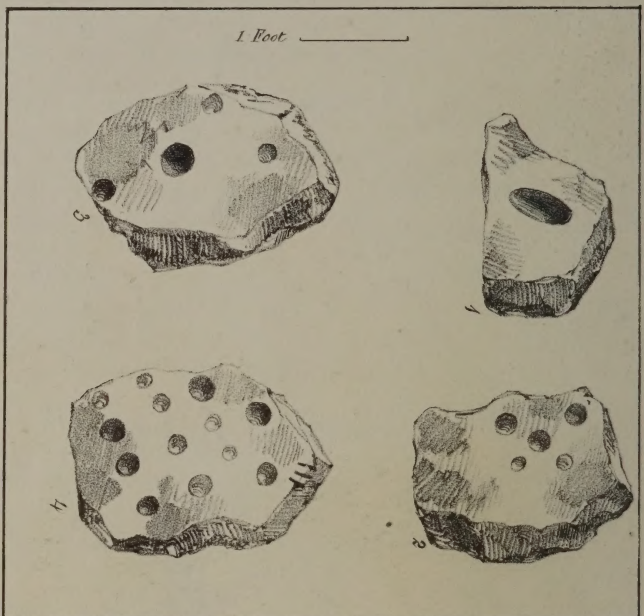
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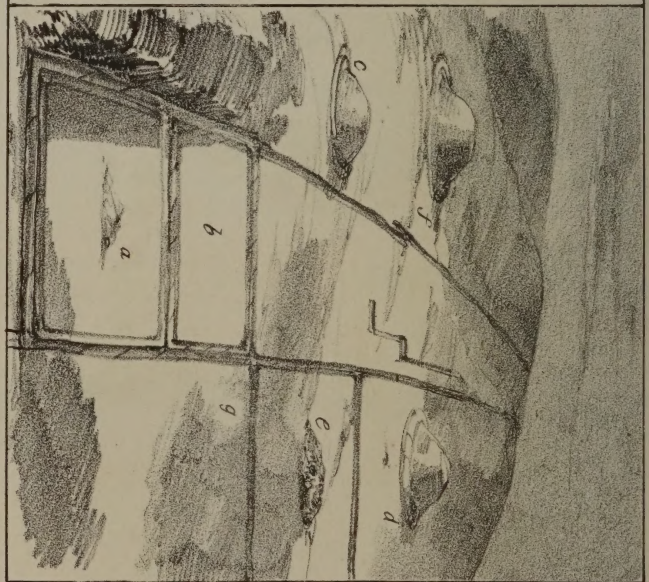
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Stones from the Tumulus "Way Hag."



Boat near "Way Hag."



Vessels found in Tumuli in Yorkshire.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL 1850.

REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS IN BARROWS, IN YORKSHIRE,

BY MR. JOHN TISSIMAN, OF SCARBOROUGH ; COMMUNICATED BY
LORD LONDESBOROUGH,¹ K.C.H., F.S.A.

THE tumulus at "Way Hagg", figured *d* in plate II, accompanying this report, was opened in the autumn of 1848, its situation being upon the top of Ayton moor, and about a mile from Hackness. In diameter it was thirty-six yards, and in perpendicular depth eight feet; but, formerly it must have been considerably more, as the top of the mound was very flat, with a slight depression towards the centre. It was composed of sandy earth and loose stones, the upper part being principally sand, and a mass of loose stones at the base. The cutting was commenced on the north side, and about eighteen inches from the surface, and four feet from the top (on the slope) was discovered a small urn, which contained burnt wood ashes. It was embedded in a black greasy earth, with no stones surrounding it. This small vessel measures three inches in height, two and a half inches diameter on the top, and two and a quarter inches at the bottom, a representation of which is seen in plate I, fig. 1. There are two holes, one on each side, half an inch from the top, for the purpose, I should suppose, of attaching a piece of sinew, or skin, by which it might be carried about.

¹ To his lordship's liberality the Association is indebted for the engravings in illustration of this report.

After cutting eight or ten feet towards the centre, the stone (plate II, fig. 2) was found set upright (as seen in the sketch), having five holes worked upon the side, the dimensions of which will be found annexed. A little beyond this were the three stones (plate II, figs. 1, 3, and 4), which being removed, the earth slipped from the top and exposed the large urn (plate I, fig. 3) standing upon two large stones. It measures fifteen inches in height; twelve inches in diameter at the top; bottom of rim, twelve and a half inches, and four and a quarter inches at the bottom; breadth of rim, four inches. Its contents consisted of a mass of calcined bones, from amongst which were taken several broken flint arrow-heads, a perfect bone pin, and a bone or ivory ornament, through which had been drilled two holes, probably to admit of its being worn as a personal decoration. There were also the bones of some small animal, which had been burnt with the body. Nothing further was discovered in this tumulus.

The tumulus known as the "Ravenhill tumulus" was opened on the 21st August 1849.

This mound is situated on the moor land to the right of the road leading to the hall, and is one of the three named, in the map of the *Archæological Institute*, "Robin Hood's butts." It is formed of the yellow sandy earth found upon the moors in the neighbourhood, and measured forty-two feet in diameter, whilst in depth it was eight feet. The cutting was commenced on the south side, and carried on towards the centre. After the sandy earth was cleared away, a mass of stones presented themselves, some of very large size, and apparently designed for some particular purpose, which was proved afterwards. Passing this wall of stone, our labours were rewarded by the discovery of two stones—one having five holes worked in it, the other having two; and immediately after the urn (plate I, fig. 2) measuring in height six inches and three quarters; in diameter four inches and a half at the top, and three inches and a quarter at the bottom. A little to the left of this was found the small vessel (plate I, fig. 5) embedded in burnt wood ashes, calcined bones and earth, having the appearance of a cannon ball; but being cleared of its extraneous matter, was disclosed to our eyes in the beautiful form it now presents. It was quite perfect, and filled with calcined

bones and ashes. The measurements are, at the top two inches and seven-eighths; the diameter outside, in the middle, three inches; and at the bottom two inches and one-eighth. It is marked on the outside to the middle with cross lines, where is a flattish bead, with two lines of indented ornament; there are two similar lines near the bottom, and three on the upper edge. There are also two holes in the side. After this was found the urn, in fragments (plate I, fig. 4), which I have been able to restore. It is of an irregular oval form, and is the rudest of the whole: its height is seven inches and a quarter; diameter, six and three-quarters, and five inches on the top; and three inches and three-quarters and three and a half at bottom. Next this was a stone, on which is cut a large spear-shaped cavity, and four lines in form of a W. The cavity has the appearance of having had fire in it. There were also two more remarkable stones: one with a large oval hole cut in it on one side, measuring seven inches long, three inches and seven-eighths wide, and three inches and a quarter in depth. On the opposite side is another hole, three inches and a quarter in diameter, and one and a half in depth.

Shortly after finding these, we discovered a large urn, crushed down by a quantity of the superincumbent earth, which having been carefully cleared away, was found to be resting on two large stones. The urn contained a mass of calcined bones, amongst which was a spear, or arrow-head, in flint, very perfect; a knife-like piece of flint; a broken celt, in flint; broken arrow-heads, and a beautiful bronze pin, one and a half inches long. The measurements of this urn would be thirteen inches in height, nine to ten inches at top, ten inches and three-quarters to eleven and three-quarters at the shoulder, and seven inches at the bottom. It is marked with similar lines, as plate I, fig. 5. Not having completed the cutting through of this mound, I returned to it again on the 31st August, being desirous to turn the whole of it over; and after proceeding some distance from the east side towards the centre, a mass of large stones presented themselves, which being cleared through, I found was a perfect wall, about four feet square, encircling the whole mound. I also found two more urns, but they could not be preserved, falling to pieces imme-

diately upon clearing the earth away. They contained calcined bones, and were buried about midway between the base and apex, and perhaps eighteen inches from the surface.



The necklace shewn in the annexed cut was discovered in a tumulus, near Egton, North Riding of York, and is made from an inferior sort of jet, commonly called jet wood, excepting the centre piece, which is of the best quality, and marked with lozenge-shaped perforations. There were also, an annular ornament of inferior jet, one spear, and two arrow-heads, in flint, as seen in the above cut.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SKETCH OF PART OF THE MOOR, NEAR "WAY HAGG",
HACKNESS. PLATE II.

a, South Camp: Length, 103 yards; breadth, 60 yards. Near the centre of this camp there has been a small mound. *b*, North Camp: Length, 102 yards; breadth, 60 yards. On the outside is a ditch, three feet deep and four feet broad. *c*, First tumulus opened, in which a small

urn was found. *d*, Second tumulus opened, for description of which see report. *e*, Remains of a tumulus. *f*, Large bell-shaped mound unopened. *g*, Lines on bank of earth, apparently more recent, and not broken down like those marked *a* and *b*.

MEASUREMENTS OF STONES TAKEN FROM THE TUMULUS OF "WAY HAGG".

PLATE II.

Fig. 1. Nearly even surface. Length, from 16 to 18 inches; breadth, 10 to 20 ditto; depth, 8 to 9 ditto; with large oval hole cut in the centre, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 4 inches broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. On the opposite side are three holes, from 2 to 3 inches in diameter, and from 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep. 2. Uneven surface. Length, 23 inches; breadth, 14 inches; depth, 13 inches; with five holes, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. 3. Uneven surface. Length, 33 inches; breadth, 22 inches; depth, 10 inches, with four holes, the largest being $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 3 inches deep; the others, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 2 inches in diameter, and 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. 4. Uneven surface. Length, 27 inches; breadth, $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, 10 inches, with 13 holes, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 5 inches in diameter, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch to 3 inches in depth; also three lines at the end of the stone.

ON THE EFFIGY OF A LADY IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.

THERE are few things to be more regretted by the archæologist, than the, no doubt well intentioned, but unfortunate, meddling of incompetent persons, possessing authority in our cathedrals and other sacred edifices, by which hundreds of our most interesting monumental effigies have been either lost to us for ever, or so altered in position, as to render their identification almost impossible. It is mortifying in the extreme to wander through their aisles and contemplate the number of these relics nameless—or, worse than nameless—misappropriated. What a loss to history, to biography, to art! It appears almost incredible that

they should have been suffered not merely to decay or to be wantonly injured by the ignorant and the idle, but to be displaced and disfigured, by soi-disant improvers and restorers: some actually removed from one church to another, without any official record of the fact, by which it might be possible to ascertain the name or rank of the persons they were intended to commemorate. Winchester, Gloucester, and Worcester, have presented to the Association too many sad examples of this deplorable practice. In Winchester cathedral, one of the most glaring and indefensible has been already commented upon by me, in my paper on the singular and formerly magnificent monument, known as that of William de Foix (see this *Journal*, vol. i, pp. 216-223). Not only has it been bandied about the building till all knowledge of its original position is lost, but an elaborately-sculptured portion of it, covered with armorial bearings, has been divorced from it, and actually set up in a distant chapel; wherefore, the perpetrator of this vandalism only knows, or knew. Gloucester exhibits its apocryphal de Bohuns (the effigies of a knight and his lady, removed from Llanthony), and Tewkesbury its disputed Lord Wenlock; not to mention the dozens of warriors, dames, priests, and merchants, who, in other sacred edifices, have had their good names filched from them, or been unceremoniously pushed about, literally, "from post to pillar", by dean, churchwarden, or architect, as the case may be. In the cathedral of Worcester, with the exception of prince Arthur's, there is scarcely a medieval monument which has not given rise to a controversy. The effigy of king John reposes on an altar tomb of another age, and far from its original position: those of the canonized founders of the two cathedrals, Oswald and Wulstan, and of their successors Cantilupe and Gifford, have been the subject of much dispute. The effigy of a lady in the ordinary costume of the twelfth century, is set down as an abbess of White Ladies, having been transported from that place. A mailed warrior of the same date, is but presumed to be a sir James de Beauchamp. The splendid monument, of certainly one of that family, near the north door, has yet to divulge its real occupants, whilst mitred abbot and coroneted maiden swell the list of anonyma, till speculation ceases, in despair, at the sight of the exquisite cross of en-

caustic tiles in the chancel. I cannot for a moment doubt that any attempt, however humble, to throw a light upon some of these most interesting memorials, will be received with indulgence by the Association; and will, therefore, offer a few remarks upon one in Worcester cathedral, which has particularly attracted observation and occasioned controversy.

On the south side of prince Arthur's monument, and canopied by a portion of it, are two tombs of the thirteenth century, so identical in material and similar in execution, that it can scarcely be doubted they are the work of the same sculptor. On the first is the effigy of a bishop, attired *in pontificalibus*, and considered by Abingdon and Thomas as that of Wulstan, but according to Green and later authorities appropriated with more probability to bishop Gifford, who died in 1301.

On the second, immediately eastward of it, is the figure of a lady in the costume of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century, which, from the circumstance of the double rose within the garter, introduced as an ornament of prince Arthur's chapel, being just above it, gave "some occasion", says Dr. Thomas, following Abingdon, "to a fable, that this was the countess of Salisbury, who, blushing at the loss of her garter in a dance, ministered matter to king Edward III to institute the most ancient and honourable order of the garter; never considering that the terrible dissension and union of these roses were many years after the death of king Edward III; whereof, leaving these roses within the garter (signifying that noble knight-hood) as an ornament only of prince Arthur's chapel, I will digress and descend to this lady's raised monument, lodged in earth under this stately chapel. On her head she hath a veil; on her chin a wymplet or deep muffler, which I conjecture to be an ensign of honour; in her hands, lifted up to heaven, a pair of beads dependant; on her inward garment, in divers small escutcheons, *or*, a fret, *gules*; on her mantle in like fashion chequee, *or*, and *azure*; at her feet, a talbot; the side of the tomb, consisting of five panes engraved with the image of St. Paul and other saints. I conjecture", he continues, "by the arms on her garment being the lord Verdon's, that she was of that noble family; and by those on her mantle being

Warren's, earl of Surrey, that she was countess of Surrey by marriage." In a foot-note it is added, "This is confirmed by the following passage in a book entitled *Nicolai Uptoni de Studio Militari*", etc.; and then follows the passage in Latin from that work, being a note by Bysshe, beneath an engraving of the tomb and effigy by Lombart, to this effect:—"Monumentum hoc ad austrum in choro ecclesiæ cathedralis Worcestriæ positum, in marmore summa arte excisum, ob antiquitatem (cum ab Henrici tertii temporibus duraverit, quod ex habitu istius Dominae, aliaque sculptura facile collegimus) hunc locum meruit. Paterno genere ex familiâ *Verdonorum* fuit, et conjux cujusdam Comitis Surriæ è *Warrennis*; vestis enim interior *Verdonorum* habet insignia, exterior *Warrenorum*. Per quem morem ortum, et conjugia heroinæ olim exprimebant. Nec vetustius usquam temere reperias, itaque hujus loci merito est."



Bysshe's work was published in 1654, and Dr. Thomas's Survey nearly one hundred years after it; but large portions of the latter were copied, almost verbatim, from Abingdon's account of the cathedral, written in the time of queen Elizabeth; consequently, earlier than that of Bysshe. Green, in his later history, repeats in other words the story of the error respecting the countess of Salisbury, and the suggestion (founded on the armorial bearings) that the effigy is that of a Verdon married to a Warren, but adds in a foot note: "The real fact is, that this figure represents Andela, daughter and heiress of

Griffin de Albo-Monasterio, or Blanche-minster, lord of Ichtefield, Salop; wife of John, son of Griffin de Warren, natural son of William VI, earl of Surrey"; and quotes Watson's *History of the Warren Family*, vol. i, p. 208, where this tomb is re-engraved. From the period of this publication (1796) therefore, until within the last few years, the dictum of Watson appears to have been undisputed; but a most intelligent and careful draughtsman, by whose early death we lost a worthy successor to Charles Stothard, in the course of his valuable labours to complete the series of English sepulchral effigies, came to Worcester and made an accurate drawing of this interesting figure, which, in his unfinished publication, appears simply subscribed, "one of the Clifford family". To this conclusion, Mr. Hollis doubtless felt authorized in coming, by the arms emblazoned on the mantle proving, upon examination, not to be simply chequee *or* and *azure*, for Warren, but chequee, with a fess; which, although not coloured, as it should be, *gules*, might fairly be considered intended to represent the coat of Clifford. No letter-press having appeared with the plates of Mr. Hollis's work, we are ignorant of any other authority he might have to support his assertion; but it is clear that he considered himself justified in discarding the previous opinions.

But though the accurate eye of Mr. Hollis discovered the fess on the escutcheons which emblazon the mantle, he appears to have been unable to detect the slightest trace of the shields bearing *or*, a fret *gules*, on the tunic, robe, or surcoat forming the under garment of the figure, as described by Bysshe and his contemporaries, and which actually appear in the early engravings of the effigy. On my late visit to Worcester, I minutely examined the monument, and as vainly sought for any evidence of such a decoration having formerly existed—a circumstance more puzzling, from the fact of the preser-



vation of the shields on the mantle, which are on the outer side, and exposed to many chances of destruction; whilst those we look in vain for, would have been out of the reach of idle visitors, or any ordinary casualty. It seems to me quite impossible that "Time's effacing fingers" could have so completely obliterated every one of the Verdon coats, and left perfect all the other; nor can any motive be conceived for the intentional and careful erasure of one particular armorial bearing. At the same time, we can scarcely doubt the assertions of Abingdon and Bysshe, or the burin of their cotemporary engraver. Errors as singular have, however, been made by one man, and perpetuated by a dozen copyists; and I shall therefore give the result of my inquiries, as far as I have yet been able to make them, leaving the negative evidence to weigh for whatever it may be worth.

In the first place, therefore, to dispose altogether of Mr. Watson's dictum, that the effigy is that of Andela (Audela?) Blanchminster, the wife of John de Warren; not only are the arms on the mantle those of Clifford, instead of Warren; but the said John de Warren bore chequee *argent* and *sable* (his father, Griffin, having changed the colours of the family coat, being only the natural son of William the sixth earl, as may be seen to this day in a quartering of the coat of Mainwaring); and the arms of Blanchminster were not *or*, a fret *gules*, but fretty *argent* and *gules*, with (according to a manuscript in the College of Arms, *Philpot*, viii, 76) a file of six points, *azure*. Add to this the rather important questions, was the lady buried at Worcester? or had she any claim to such a magnificent monument in that cathedral?

In the second place, the pedigrees of Clifford and Verdon, which I have examined, show no match between those families; but it must be admitted that they are defective in many instances, as far as omission of the family names of the wives; as, for example, Henry, son of Richard, who was brother of lord Clifford of Frampton, county Gloucester, is simply said to have married Matilda, or Maud; and Dallaway, in his *Heraldic Inquiries*, gives, but unfortunately without naming his authority, the seal of a Henry Clifford, dated 1339, impaling a fret. But this Clifford is of the Frampton branch, distinguished by bearing a bend, *gules*, charged with three lions, *or*; and the engraving gives us no indi-

cation of the colours of the impalement, by which we could ascertain the owner; a fret, or fretty, being borne by many English families.

Foiled, then, in our attempt to identify the effigy by the armorial bearings still visible, or reported to have formerly adorned it, let us examine other evidence, and see how far it is possible to reconcile apparently conflicting traditions with the facts before us. The monument, you will remember, was, according to one story, supposed to belong to a countess of Salisbury; and, from the accidental position of the Tudor rose within the garter, upon the portion of prince Arthur's chapel immediately above it, the inference was erroneously drawn, that the effigy represented the lady Salisbury admired and complimented by Edward III. This error being exploded, the armorial bearings were considered sufficient authority for the assertion that it was the tomb of a countess of Warren and Surrey, who had been a Verdon by birth; and Mr. Willis went so far as to state that she died in the reign of Henry III: "which", says Mr. Green, "is repugnant to history, both the countesses of Surrey, who died in the reign of that monarch, having been interred at Lewes, in Sussex." Mr. Watson, in correcting this error, fell, as we have seen, into another; and the last supposition was that of Mr. Wild, who suggested that the monument was more probably that of Maude, sister of bishop Gifford, who was buried in the cathedral in 1297, about four years before the bishop's death, and for whom he had selected a place of interment, close to the spot in which he wished his own remains to be deposited. A.D. 1297, xiii cal. Septembr: "Sepultus fuit in ecclesiâ cathedralis, Matilda de Evereus, juxta locum ubi episcopus frater ejus, deposuit sublimius sepeliri." (*Annal. Wigorn.*) So far so good, but Mr. Wild must have overlooked the fact, that this Matilda or Maude could have no pretensions to the coat armour of Clifford, or Warren; or Verdon, as she was born a Gifford, married first a Treville, and eventually died the widow of sir William D'Evereux, slain at Evesham. The original position of bishop Gifford's monument was on the north side of the great altar, "juxta magnum altare a parte dextra" (Will of bishop Gifford, Thomas. Appendix v. 97), and after his death, it was removed to the south side; for the raising of

this sumptuous tomb gave great offence to Winchelsea, at that time archbishop of Canterbury, as it had occasioned the removal of that of John de Constance, who had been considered as a saint. The shrine of St. Oswald was also incommoded by the new tomb, which had the appearance of a tabernacle over it. These circumstances, added to the encroachment it made upon the choir, so as to obstruct the priests in serving at the high altar, induced the archbishop to issue orders to the prior to remove it. The prior by letter excused himself from doing it in the time of the bishop's last sickness, lest the grief occasioned by it might hasten his death; but on the decease of Gifford, which happened 26th January, A.D. 1301-2, the orders of the archbishop were fulfilled, and the tomb was taken down; yet as he had been a noble benefactor in ornamenting the church, they could not refuse his remains a place near the altar, in a situation from which no annoyance could arise, and he was accordingly interred at the bottom of the south ascent to the high altar, over which his tomb was placed. (*Green*, p. 66; *Abingdon's manuscript*, p. 38; *Anglia Sacra*, note, vol. i, 497). Now in this well authenticated account, you will observe no mention is made of the removal of his sister's tomb, or body. Indeed we have no evidence that a tomb—that is to say a sepulchral monument of any consequence, had been erected to her memory. But there was another Maude nearly connected with bishop Gifford, of much higher rank than his sister, and who had preceded him to the grave some eighteen years. Matilda, sole daughter and heir of Walter de Gifford, of Corfham, and widow of William Longespée, the third of that name (who, though he never enjoyed the earldom of Salisbury, taken by Henry III from his father, was accounted earl by many), married secondly John lord Gifford de Brimsfield, in the county of Gloucester, nephew, or at least near kinsman, of bishop Gifford. In 55 Henry III, says Dugdale, "Maude Longespée (widow of William Longespée, son of William earl of Salisbury, and daughter and heir to Walter de Clifford), having by her letters made a grievous complaint to the king, that this John Gifford had taken her by force from her manor house at Kaneford, and carried her to his castle at Brimmesfield, and there kept her in restraint; he being thereupon sent for by the king, and

told what was informed against him, denied the charge, saying, that he took her not thence against her will, and tendered to the king a fine of three hundred marks for marrying her without his license, of which the king accepted, upon condition that she made no farther complaint." *Apud Pat. Roll.* 55 Henry III, m. 19. This Matilda Longespée, as she continued to call herself, was styled countess of Salisbury, as her first husband was earl. William lord Latimer, in 1381, gives to his daughter Elizabeth, a primer, covered with velvet, which had belonged to Maud Longespée, countess of Salisbury. "There is nothing", says the reverend Joseph Hunter, "remarkable in the gift; but the description of the lady, to whom a century before the book had belonged, is well deserving notice: first, because of the name of addition given to her, which we should not expect to find given to the ladies of this house; and secondly, on account of the rank of countess of Salisbury attributed to her, while it is said in the usual authorities that her husband William de Longespée was never allowed that dignity." Now herein I think we may perceive the origin of the tradition that this tomb was erected to the memory of a countess of Salisbury, whilst at the same time we discover an absolute authority for the display of her paternal coat of Clifford; her christian name also being the same as that of the bishop's sister, may have caused some confusion as to the personages. Her mother was Margaret, daughter of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, by Joan, the illegitimate daughter of king John. By her first husband, William de Longespée, she had one daughter, named Margaret, who married Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and Salisbury, and was the mother of Alice, wife of Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, and grandson of king Henry III.

By her second husband, lord Gifford of Brimsfield, she had four daughters: Katherine, married to Nicholas de Audely; Alienora, married to Fulco le Strange; Matilda, married to William de Geneville; and Elizabeth, who appears to have died unmarried. So royally descended and nobly allied, a magnificent tomb and effigy would naturally be accorded to her; and under the date 1301 we find an entry in the annals of Worcester to the following effect:—"iii Cal. Decembr. Domina de Clifford, *dicta comitissa*,

sepultum habuit Wigornia à dextera parte altaris in ecclesiâ cathedralis." The words "dicta comitissa" decide the question as to the identity of the lady de Clifford here mentioned, as her first husband, William Longespée, never actually possessed the earldom; and consequently, though commonly called countess of Salisbury, her real name, as daughter and heir of Walter de Clifford of Corham, is here given her in preference to her title of courtesy, or her second husband's name of Gifford, another wife having given him a son and heir to the lordship of Brimsfield. At the same time we have to remark that Maud Longespée was dead in 1283, in which year lord Gifford founded Gloucester hall, at Oxford, for the health of his soul, and that of Maude, his sometime wife; but in the entry above quoted, the words used are simply "sepultum habuit", from which I infer that her body was removed at this period from the place where it had been deposited eighteen years previously, and laid in its present splendid monument on the dexter or north side of the altar; whence, together with the tomb, it was again removed, after the death of the bishop in 1302, when his own monument was ejected from the spot on which, during his life-time, he had erected it; and both finally placed in the position they now occupy. I must leave it to my readers to decide whether my being at present unable to account for the fretted escutcheons, which are said to have been formerly visible upon the robe of this effigy, is fatal to the suggestion I have the honour to submit to them. The Verdon pedigrees I have examined exhibit no match with either a Clifford or a Warren, but Lord Gifford's mother was a Maltravers; and his daughter, by Matilda Longespée, married an Audely, both of which families bore a fret. Effigies have been tampered with—armorial coats have been incorrectly blazoned. The disappearance of every trace of such a decoration, whilst it increases the mystery, favours my suspicion that it was not an original one. The escutcheons still visible are all slightly incised: had those we miss been so, some faint outline would surely have been discernible. If executed at the same time, would not the same process have been followed? The coat of Gifford of Brimsfield was the same as that given by the heralds to the Giffords, earls of Buckingham, *gules* three lions, *argent*;

but we are told by Abingdon, that the Giffords of Weston, in Gloucestershire, to testify the obligations conferred on his family by bishop Godfrey, took the arms of the bishopric of Worcester; and in a roll of arms, as early as the reign of Edward II, I find sir John Gifford, of Worcester, *de argent a les rondeles de gules*; whilst to another sir John Gifford, are assigned the three lions, *argent*, in a field *gules*; and to a third sir John Gifford, surnamed "Le Boef", of Oxfordshire, the same coat, with a label *azure*—a "sir Esmourn Gifford" bearing it with a label *sable*. There is also the drawing of a seal of a sir William Gifford, *temp.* Edward III, in a manuscript in the College of Arms, which displays checquee *or*, and *gules*, a canton of the second; and what is equally worthy of notice, the arms of Gifford, of Hampshire, are given by Abingdon as *gules*, fretty engrailed *ermine*. But there are between twenty and thirty varieties of the arms of Gifford, which, as well as the family, demand more inquiry than we have time or space for at present. Dugdale, in his descent of the Giffords, earls of Buckingham, and of the Giffords, barons of Brimesfield, makes no mention of the branch from which sprung an archbishop of York, a bishop of Worcester and lord high chancellor of England, an abbess of Shaftesbury, and the wife of a D'Evereux; while the pedigrees in the College of Arms and the British Museum have separated that branch from the family tree. But for a legacy to "Margaret de Neuville, uxore quondam domini Johannis Gifford nepti mee", in bishop Godfrey's will, we might have searched in vain, perhaps, for the link by which they were connected; but Margaret de Neville was the second wife of John lord Gifford, and as it appears his widow in 1301. It is my hope that I may shortly be enabled to throw some new light upon the genealogy of this great family (the confusion in which has baffled the research and acuteness of the learned historian of Wiltshire, Sir R. Colt Hoare), and furnish a few facts for a new biography of one of the most illustrious bishops of Worcester—a city in which the Association was received with so much honour and hospitality, that the spirit of research receives an additional stimulus from the feeling of gratitude.



ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART X.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE, M.A.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE LEGENDS ON CERTAIN BRITISH COINS
INSCRIBED "TASCHIOVANI.F. COM.F", ETC.

THE great variety of British coins discovered since the former parts of these papers were published,—now an interval of several years,—has suggested some considerable modification of the explanations and interpretations of these legends at first proposed. Now the preferable explanation of them appears to be thus:—

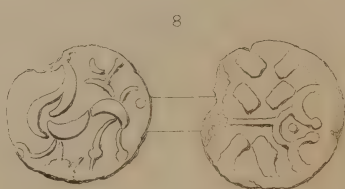
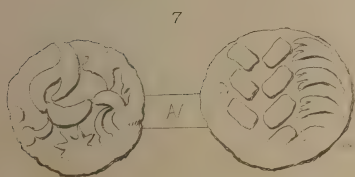
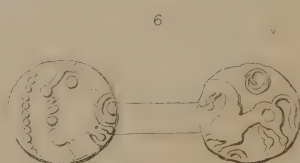
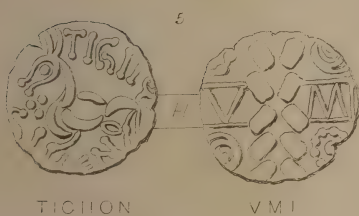
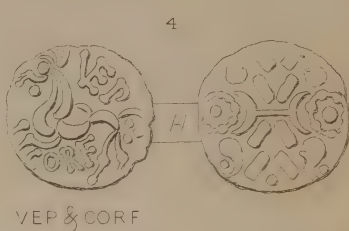
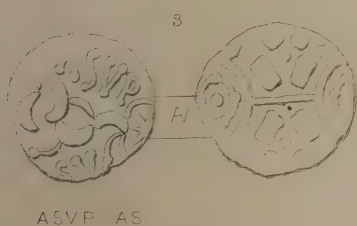
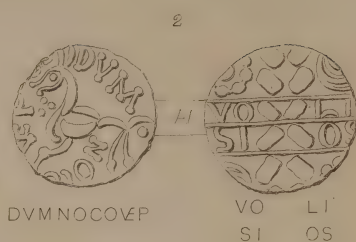
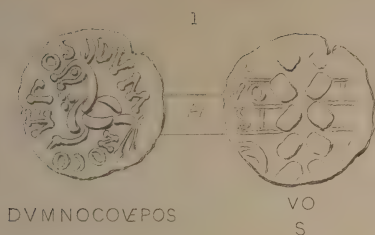
I. The interpretation of TASC, TASCIO, TASCHIOVANVS, etc. is in all cases continued in the sense of sovereign; the Erse *taioiseach*, which implies chief or leader, and various other corroborations, seeming to render this undoubted. But—

II. The F on the coins of the British Belgæ, *i.e.* those inscribed COM.F, etc. is considered preferably explained as the commencement of some word signifying the name of that people; and it will be here supposed, from various reasons, to have been the Celtic word *firbolg*, which formed, as appears from seemingly authentic grounds, their appellation.

III. The like explication of the F is to be transferred to such coins of Cunobeline, whereupon that same letter appears; unless the word *filius*, or son, should be preferred, of which the option is left.

IV. The CO, COM, and COMM, of the Britannico-Belgic coins is interpreted as part of a Celtic word, implying state, district, or confederacy. This word we are unable to give with absolute certainty in its true and complete Celtic form, as, from the circumstance that no ancient literary works in this language have come down to us, we only know the ancient Celtic by the modern, which is in fact merely a species of approximation. As we, however, ascertain that the Latin words *communis* and *communitas* have their

BRITISH COINS.



COINS OF THE BRIGANTES.

close cognates in modern Celtic dialects, we judge it was also thus the case in the ancient form of the language. This point will be further attended to presently: in the meantime we may observe that we appear to have the word Latinized on a Gaulish coin, inscribed ARTVE(NNA) COM(M)VN(ITAS), *i.e.* the state or jurisdiction of Artuenna. See Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, 8vo, 1841, pl. ix, 15. Also we have it fused and amalgamated in the legend on Gaulish coins, ANDECOM, (*Lelewel* iii, 44, and Lambert's *Numismatique Gauloise du Nord-ouest de la France*, 4to, 1844, x, 1), which has ostensibly the interpretation of the country or district of Ande, or Ando. It appears that some of these types inscribed ANDECOM, have the addition BOS at the end of the legend (*Duchalais, Médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 8vo, 1846, p. 116), which may be either the commencement of some other word, or the termination merely of that here expressed: but we have Lelewel's authority, who knew, or partly knew, that it was thus prolonged (*Type Gaulois*, p. 238), that our views respecting the reading of the legend COM should not thereby be altered. On another Gaulish coin (*Lelewel*, p. 368, from *Conbrouse's Catalogue*, 422g), we have it translated and Grecized as COINOS RICOM, *i.e.* the state of the Ricomagenses, a people of Gaul; and the Greek word TO KOINON, in the sense of the community, or commonweal, occurs on ancient Greek coins.

On Roman imperial coins it may be observed we have legends in the Latin, which seem to have much reference to our present purpose. On the reverse of a coin of Augustus, for instance, is read COM(MVNITATES) ASIAE ROM(AE) ET AVGVST(O). (*Vaillant*, vol. ii, p. 35.) The date of this coin is A.U.C. 735, or B.C. 19, having been struck in the fifth year of the tribunitian power of Augustus. There is likewise a coin of Claudius inscribed on the reverse COM. ASI. (*Vaillant*, vol. ii, p. 60.) Both these coins have the representation of the front of a temple; also the same form occurs on types of Hadrian and Trajan. (*Eckhel, Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, 4to, Vienna, 1795, vol. vi, p. 245.) These types may require some passing remark.

As they all must have originated from the first of them mentioned, it may be observed that several temples were dedicated in Asia Minor to Rome and Augustus. One was

at Pergamos, in Mysia; another at Ancyra, in Phrygia; and a third was at Nicomedia, in Bithynia; and there might have been others. Dion Cassius mentions two of these, raised by concession and permission of the emperor: the one at Pergamos by the Asiatic Greeks, *i.e.* inhabitants of Asia Propria, which contained several subordinate divisions—as Mysia, Phrygia, Æolia, etc.; and the one at Nicomedia, by the Bithynians, *LI.* 20. By the way they are spoken of, they were not raised by the Roman authorities. Indeed as Asia Minor appears at that time to have been not within the jurisdiction of the Senate, but under prætorian administration, or in other words, to have been in the emperor's own hands, in that case it could only have been considered as the act of the emperor himself, which might not have been wished. Thus the word province is not mentioned, but the term *COMMUNITAS*, implying the own government and polity of the inhabitants of the respective states. From this instance the inference seems allowable that there is no reason that any other ancient state government, or jurisdiction, when mentioned unconnected with Roman domination, might not have been styled on inscriptions and coins a “*communitas*”, or its equivalent, according to the language of the country, as well as by any other usual form; and there appear to be sufficient examples to confirm this.

In endeavouring to trace the analogous Celtic term, it may be remarked that we have in the Gaelic the word “*comunn*”, in the sense of communion, or society (*Armstrong's Dictionary*). In the Erse we have “*comann*” in the same signification (*O'Reilly's Dictionary*); while in the Welsh we find “*cymmun*” expressing the Latin word *communitas*. In the same language “*cwmmd*”, in a diminutive sense, is still used in North Wales, to imply the word district.

Further, however, there is every appearance that we have the Celtic word, which we seek in the form “*commios*”,—a word which it seems should be no longer considered, as heretofore, a proper name, as it is now ascertained, as we shall see, to be put as an equivalent for a term signifying a district or tract of country. For example, a late publication informs us that the types of Carmanum have sometimes *CARMANO ANDOB*, and sometimes *CAR-*

MANO COMIOS (*Duchalais*, pp. 86-88, and plate I, figs. 8, 9, and 10); and again we have the full legend ANDOBRV in the *Catalogue* of Conbrouse, No. 354. This, we are acquainted by M. Lelewel (pp. 239, 241), signifies in the Armorican language "pays Ande", or the Ando country or district. In confirmation, the word *bro*, in modern Welsh, is of the same meaning. It will be remembered that we have also had a legend before, which, similarly with this, was considered to imply "Ando district, or country".

The coins reading CARMANO COMIOS are ascribed by French writers either to Carmanum Castrum in Languedoc, or the Carmanum mentioned by M. De la Saussaye, now Chateau Renaud, near Blois. Inferences from our numismatic data seem decidedly in favour of the latter: for with a distance of only about forty miles from the confines of the Andecavi, this Carmanum might have been under their jurisdiction at the time of the striking of these coins; or the name Andecavi might have been the generic appellation of several states in this part of Gaul, in the same manner as there were Cenomani and Aulerci-Cenomani. The great probability of this makes all clearer and stronger: and thus, comparing the types CARMANO ANDOB and CARMANO COMIOS, now regarded coins of the Andecavi, and ANDECOM, together, the proof of the legend "commios", or "comios", having the sense of territory or district, seems complete.

On this illustration afforded by the coins of Carmanum we may thus place reliance. Indeed it may be an indication to explain another type, that of COMMIOS CARSICIOS, attributed by the marquis de Lagoy a few years since to Carcici in Provence, near Marseilles. If commios, on the coins of Carmanum, be equivalent to Andobru, with the sense of "pays", *i.e.* country or district, it certainly may have the same signification on the types of Carcici.

As to the name of the Comius of Cæsar himself, principally we may observe that there may have been but a trifling difference in the Celtic between the word which expressed the government and that which conveyed the title of the governor or ruler. For example, one term might have been COMMIOS, the other COMAN, or the like, as occurs among consular imitations in the Gaulish coinage. See the marquis de Lagoy's *Essai de Monographie*, 4to, Aix, 1847, p. 16, and Lelewel, *Type Gaulois*, 8vo, 1841, pp. 244 and

323. There might in short have been so great a similarity, that the Romans calling him by his title may have expressed his name by a slight variation, Commius, or Comius.

As to the appearance of the word on British coins, besides on the present series, we have the newly-discovered coin in the British Museum, which reads COMVX, of similar type with those inscribed QVANGEΘ and CATTI (see the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. ii, pp. 23-4; and vol. iii, p. 201, pl. fig. 8). This may possibly be interpreted COM(MIOS) or communitas, VX(ACONA) or Uxella; and BODVOC (vol. ii, p. 12), a legend now applied to the Boduni, may possibly be explained BODVO C(OMMIOS) or communitas.

The above are the four leading features of the new interpretation proposed, and one or two other matters closely connected with the subject. We may now advert, in illustration of the legend F, to the conquests of the Belgian Gauls, and their domination in Britain. Here the particulars come down to us rather more indefinitely than might be wished, but the general truth of them seems undoubted.

I. The first invasion, colony, or immigration of the Belgæ, was about three hundred and fifty years before Christ; the date somewhat uncertain, but the fact itself undoubted, from the ancient British Chronicles and Welsh Triads, which appear to place these people in Britain before the invasion, which will be mentioned next in order. The Belgæ, on this occasion, are supposed to have occupied a great part of the southern and midland portion of the island, comprising the states of the Dobuni, Cassii, Atrebatas, Trinobantes, etc.; in fact, nearly all the recognised territories of the Cunobeline, the Silures or Southern Welch excepted, who are reputed by Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. xi) to have been a colony from Spain.

II. To these, about 150 B.C., succeeded the Belgæ, called the Coranians. These are supposed to have occupied the territories of the Iceni, Iceni Coritani, Cangi, and Ordovices; in other words, the midland parts of the island north of Cunobeline's dominions, together with North Wales. With the Coranians an additional circumstance is connected, that a part of them appear to have passed over to Ireland. The particulars concerning them are gleaned from various

sources: *Tysilio's Chronicle, the Triads, Nennius* (Dublin edit. 1847, etc). The invasion of the Coranians is admitted by the celebrated French historian Thierry (*Norman Conquest*, Lond. ed. 8vo, 1841, p. 2). Their name Coranians in this country was derived from the accidental circumstance of a great part of their territory being low and marshy ground: the distinctive word for marsh being *cors* in Welch. The words Coritani and Coranians, it also may be observed, are regarded as synonymous.

III. The invasion of the Gaulish leader, Divitiacus, mentioned by Cæsar in his Commentaries (*Gaulish Wars*, ii, 4), is supposed to have taken place about one hundred years B.C. They seem solely to have acquired a portion of the south-eastern part of Britain, as Hampshire, Wiltshire, etc.; dispossessing possibly, or subduing some, of the former Belgian occupants. Cæsar speaks of this invasion in these terms: "Dicebant—apud eos (Suessiones) fuisse regem nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui quàm magnæ partis harum regionum tum etiam Britanniae obtinisset"; *i.e.* They said that among them, the Suessiones, there was a king, Divitiacus, even in our memory, who was the most powerful in all Gaul, and had obtained the dominion of a great part of these regions, as also (of a great part) of Britain.

There were thus these three invasions, the occurrence of which seems authentic enough. It may perhaps simplify matters as to distinct recollection, to mention a noted king of each section of these invaders, recorded in history. Thus we have Cunobeline, king of several central provinces of Britain, which had been conquered in the first invasion; Prasutagus, king of those conquered by the Coranians, in the second; and Divitiacus, before mentioned, in the third, who held several provinces, but from Cæsar's words might possibly have governed them by deputy. We may add, that with the disposal of Divitiacus's dominions after his death, we are not acquainted. Possibly after a generation or two they came under the sway of Cunobeline.

Now it is singular that though almost half Britain was conquered by the Belgæ, yet there was only one state of them which retained the name of the race, and that was the state of the Belgæ Proper, occupying Hampshire, Wiltshire, etc. as has been mentioned. The rest were called

Cassii, Trinobantes, Iceni, Coritani, etc. Hence it is probable that those who were called Belgæ by distinction formed the dominions of Divitiacus. The coins inscribed TIN COMF. VIR REX COMF. EPPI COMF. etc. are found in the territories of these Belgæ, and in the adjoining districts of Sussex and Kent, which formed the states of the Regni and Cantii. These, at the time of the striking of the coins, may have been dependants of the Belgæ, and have acknowledged the successors of Divitiacus for their rulers.

Regarding the name "Belgæ," there is scarcely a doubt but that in conformity to the custom of various European nations it had an addition to it, signifying men: as we say Scotchmen, or Englishmen, etc. at the present day; or as, anciently, we had the names Normanni, Alemanni, and others. In this case the addition, a prefix, was the Celtic word *fir*, implying men. Thus we have the word *Firbolg*, or *virī Belgici*, or as it is also found in ancient manuscripts in another varied form, *virī Bullorum*. It is true that we have the term *Firbolg*, communicated wholly it is believed from Irish sources, nevertheless there is but little doubt but that it was the genuine ancient name of the race: that is to say, that it was so during the whole period they were connected with British history.

It is easily seen why the prefix was omitted by the ancient classical historical writers and geographers, who always name this people Belgæ, which was the generic term. On Britannico-Belgic coins there might be a probability of its being introduced, if it were peculiarly the style by which the Belgian population was known in this country.

In ancient Irish sources, as well as *Firbolg*, the name is also varied to *virī Bullorum*, as has been just remarked, *fir* and *virī* having the same signification. It is observable that though the F begins no radical word in Welch, it is otherwise in the Erse, the V being often thus expressed, and proper names so beginning: thus, Fergil for Virgil. (Reeve's *Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, 4to, Dublin, 1847, p. 132.)

The reader may now be prepared for the application of the above data for the interpretation of these mysterious legends, which being locked up in the obscurity of the ancient Celtic language, or otherwise Latinized Celtic, did

not very readily admit of being before explained. Here will follow one of each class.

I. *Aur.* obverse, EPPILLVS; reverse, COM(MIOS) F(IRBOLG), or *communitas Fīrbolg*, which substitute of *communitas* for *commios* will be understood to be the alternative in each case where the same form occurs. The whole inscription of this coin thus read is:—obverse, Eppillus; reverse, the confederacy or state of the Belgæ. II. *Aur.* obv. VIR(IDOVIX) REX; rev. COM(MIOS) F(IRBOLG), *i.e.* Viridovix, king, reverse as before. III. *Aur.* obv. TINC(ONTIVM), rev. C(OMMIOS) F(IRBOLG), *i.e.* Tinctonium, a city, probably Winchester, reverse as before. IV. Obv. VERIC COME, rev. REX, *i.e.* Vericus, king of the state of the Belgæ. Thus it will be easily seen by these examples how the legends of the other various types of the British Belgæ may be supplied. But as well as a leader's name Viridovix, there may have been also a city Viridunum, which might have been intended on those types in which the word REX does not appear.

Respecting the name *Vericus*, it seems to be of a highly titular cast, and requiring to be understood on the same principle as the appellations of the medieval Caledonians—Thane of Fife, Thane of Rosse, etc.; and is to be considered in this particular instance as analogous to the name of the Gaulish leader Vercingetorix, mentioned in *Cæsar's Commentaries*, for as that implied king-paramount, so this literally “high king” has much of the same import. Thus it may be concluded that Vericus, whose personal name we appear not to know, ruled over several minor states or subdivisions of the Belgæ of the south of Britain, to whom these coins apply.

As to other British coins, on which the F appears, that is to say, various of the types of Cunobeline, a similar explanation of the letter seems by no means improbable, from the circumstance, that nearly all his subjects were also Belgæ, though not of the same invasion or colony as those to whom the series of coins inscribed COM.F are supposed to belong. As there are several of Cunobeline's legends in this form, more or less contracted, CVNOBELINI, TASCIOVANI.F, we may now interpret this Cunobeline sovereign of the Belgæ; or, as the genitive case is used throughout, implying a word understood, we should rather express it *the money* of Cunobeline sovereign, or ruler of the Belgæ.

Nevertheless, as to the F on Cunobeline's coins, the option of reading it *Tasciiovani filii*, or king's son, is always left, as he may possibly have coined in the life-time of his father. A coin of Caractacus, on which the word TASCIF occurs, (see the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii, p. 12), may also similarly be interpreted in either mode.

Now who, historically, were these personages, kings of the British Belgæ, whom these explanations thus introduce to us? Here we are confined within narrow limits, and there appears only the following to be observed on the subject :

I. The lettering of the coins of Eppillus, on the whole, has the greater appearance of being most ancient, and might be of concurrent date with the Consular times. Viridovix must follow in point of date, as the lettering on the coins of Vericus seems the most recent as to form.

II. The name Eppillus, which is titular, is well known to imply "hereditary successor to the throne". See *Lelewel*, p. 246. Therefore, as Divitiacus acquired the dominions, as Cæsar informs us, and as the date of the lettering might agree, Eppillus may have been the son of Divitiacus. Of Viridovix we know nothing. Vericus was probably the Bericus of Dion Cassius, who aided the Romans in the time of Claudius' invasion, having been some time previously driven out through sedition, as it is said. If this is to be taken literally, it is probably to be understood, that having submitted and become a vassal to Cunobeline, he afterwards attempted an unsuccessful rebellion.

It will be seen that the above views do not favour the conjecture of the supposed conquests of the Comius of Cæsar, in Britain. Whilst this presumed fact appeared to be supported by numismatic evidence, *it was obliged to be received* : but now that the said coins have another explanation, there appears no reason that the idea should be further entertained.

Indeed the Romans, during the trying times of the civil wars, would hardly have permitted so extensive a levy taking place, and so great a force to be raised, as would have been necessary for the purpose. Forces so large he could hardly have collected in his own two little states of the Attrebates and Morini; and the days of Gaulish military expeditions, on a large scale, from a concurrence of

numerous states united together for one purpose, were now passed. We may therefore the more rely on the illustrations now offered.

The foregoing are the author's endeavours to explain this class of coins, and consequently his contribution towards the illustration of this obscure century of the history of his country. The principal feature of his explanation, it will be seen, is the discarding the word COM, or COMM, altogether as a proper name, and receiving it in the sense of a state, or government. In his explanations of the legends of Cunobeline, he retains his former view of the term TASCIOVANVS, being convinced of its correctness.

Though bidding farewell to the idea that the coins inscribed COMM.F, or COMF, have reference to the Comius of Cæsar, yet there may be some brief animadversion as to whether, by possibility, the F in these legends can be interpreted as *filius*. Can it be possible that there is mention in them of the sons of Comius? On this point it may be said that these coins, with their unusual legends brought to notice by the discovery of several new types eight or ten years since, having taken the antiquarian world somewhat by surprise, many concurred in such an idea, seeing no other solution in the obscurity of the subject: otherwise it appears to possess no claims to be regarded as an estimable interpretation. For instance, it is to this effect: that there were four sons of the Comius of Cæsar—Eppillus, Viridovix, Tinc, and Vericus, all reigning princes; and what would appear to be unusual, all in their separate dominions concurring by a species of impulse in one legend. Where can be found the parallel in history to this? Besides, chronologically between the said Comius and the Bericus, or Vericus of Dion Cassius, mentioned in his sixtieth book, there was an interval of ninety-four years. Compare this last author with *Cæsar's Commentaries* (*Gaulish Wars*, viii, 39). More might be remarked on this head, but hoping to have afforded better data to the numismatic inquirer by the foregoing observations, there may be the less occasion.

In retrospect of our subject, it may be remarked that the solving thus the enigma which attends the legends COM.F, TASC.F, and others of the same class, removes the great obstacle which has of late prevented advance in the

knowledge of our ancient British coins. On no other grounds, it may safely be asserted, can solutions be presented worthy the attention of a correct and duly cautious numismatist. Let the reader pay especial attention to the circumstance of the substitution in two instances of COMMOS and COM for words having the signification of commonweal, state, or district, as also to the use of cognate terms on Greek and Roman coins. As to the one objection, and the only one worthy attention, that Cæsar speaks of a Gaulish chief Commius, or Comius, it may be allowable briefly to revert to the reasons for considering it of no import. Had we to deal with appellations which absolutely admitted of being considered as nothing else than proper names, the case would be different; but we have the authority of M. Amédée Thierry, in his *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii, p. 8, and vol. iii, p. 97, that the Gaulish chiefs are in most instances only known to us by their titles; and that their real names have not come down to us. This places us on quite different ground, and the explanation before afforded seems to come in unanswerably. There is nothing to contravene the proposition before dwelt upon, that with this particular chief the name of his title in the Celtic may have so closely approximated with that of his government, that the difference may not have been retained in the Latin.

NOTES RELATIVE TO THE COINS ASCRIBED TO THE BRIGANTES,
THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF YORKSHIRE, WESTMORELAND,
DURHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND, CUMBERLAND, AND LANCASHIRE.

THE obscure legends on the above coins, for which reference may be directed to the plate prefixed to this article, do not admit, it seems, of satisfactory explanation: therefore a few suggestions only on the subject are here intended. Some previous observations on them will be found in vol. iii of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, pp. 310-316.

The legend ASVP (see fig. 3), seems to be the name of a place. A town of Nottinghamshire, of the present day, "Worksop", has a very similar ending. As to the commencing letter, the word "au", in its varieties, was a name for water in almost all primitive languages. Joining this word with the above termination, whatever its meaning

may be, Ausup, or Asup, may easily be imagined of local import.

CORE, fig. 4, and vol. iii of the *Journal*, p. 314. Should this legend be intended to be read in a retrograde form, it would lead to various striking results. For example, FROC, for YVROC, *i.e.* "y fforch", as in the Welsh, or *York*, which is supposed to be named from the fork of the two rivers, the Ouse and Fosse, on which it stands;¹ and with this interpretation some of the other legends might blend themselves. The matter, however, seems so uncertain, that no more can be done than to suggest the possibility of this. In the meanwhile we can scarcely form other conjectures of this word, except that it implies some local name.

TIGHON. This legend presents a new form of the G, made somewhat like the figure 6, with the bottom part however disjoined (see the plate, fig. 5). In *Asser's Life of Alfred* we find that Tiguocobauc was the Celtic name of Nottingham,² and the double i and the u being nearly exactly similar in many ancient manuscripts, it is very obvious that instead of Tiguocobauc in Asser, we may read Tigiiocobauc. However, the translation of the word is given us "houses of caves", a name extremely applicable to that town, which is built upon a rock, with excavations or caves in it, very numerous. Here it would appear to be obvious that if the word "tigiio", or "tigii", implied houses or a town, "tigiion" might mean the lord or governor of a city or town.

VEPOS, figs. 1, 2, and 4. The meaning of this portion of the legend, which is put in the genitive case³ after DVMNO, is unknown. The Welsh word "guepe", the nearest perhaps in sound, signifies *face*, and by that word, Baxter, in his *Glossary of British Antiquities*, 8vo, 1733, p. 139, is of opinion the East was expressed among the ancient Britons: but as he has no other argument except that the East may

¹ Remarks on the probable derivation of the name of York, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1847, page 371; May, the same year, p. 458; and October, p. 338, ditto.

² The passage in Asser is as follows: "Eodem anno (A.D. 868), Paganorum exercitus Northanhymbras relinquens in Merciam venit, et Scottengaham adiit, quod Britannice Tiguocobauc

interpretatur, Latine autem speluncarum domus: et in eodem loco eodem anno hyemaverunt, etc."—Dr. Wise's edition, 8vo. 1722, p. 19.

³ VEPOS is here considered the genitive case, from the particle co, which precedes it, which seems to be the accompaniment of the genitive case in the composite word Tiguocobauc, just quoted from Asser.

be considered the face of the world, he of course cannot be followed in his views.

VOSILIOS, or VOSIMOS, which appears on the reverses of figs. 1 and 2, is undoubtedly a man's name; but no such person is known in history. The coin fig. 2 seems to give the name in the first form; but it is very probable that the reverse of fig. 5 also refers to this legend, which has VM and a following letter, and accordingly might easily be the word VOSIMOS abbreviated, there being a possibility that the letters read LI may be a disjoined M, inverted. It may also here be noticed, that there is an uniface gold coin in the British Museum—obverse, a horse to the left; and underneath the legend VOSI, which possibly may apply to this person.

As to the word Dummo, which appears among these legends: as there is VOSILIOS, or VOSIMOS, supposed a personal name on the other face of the coin, it might be reputed, according to the rule of many Gaulish types, to be the name of a place. There is, however, no certainty in this, as DUMNO CO VEPOS may merely imply the title or jurisdiction of Vosilios. Further, by the same rule, that *tigiion*, from *tigii*, is supposed to signify governor, so Dumno, or Dumnos, from *dun*, or *dunum*, a fortress, citadel, or metropolis, might be presumed to imply lord of the same.

A Dumno, or Damno, is mentioned in the celebrated bilingual inscription at Angora, in Asia Minor, as a British prince; and the contents of the inscription would well suit that he was a prince of the Brigantes, for this reason: that it is evident they were one of the principal states of the island, and with the principal states it is of course to be considered that Augustus made his treaty of commerce and friendship. For this inscription, which recorded the public acts of Augustus, see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July and October 1847.

As to the variations of this legend, the terminating I in the reading DVMNOIVEI (vol. iii of the *Journal*, p. 314), which should be rather DVMNOCOVEI, seems the imperfect P of VEPOS. Also the I in Mr. Fleming's coin (DVM)NOCOIVEP, p. 315, was apparently no more than a part of the figure of the horse.

The *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 82, mentions the

finding of sixteen or eighteen of these types, along with Roman family and consular coins, in number about two hundred. See also Mr. Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, 8vo, 1842, p. 136, where the circumstance is noticed. Mr. Wellbeloved has since kindly communicated the particulars to the following effect, from a memorandum preserved among papers relating to donations in the York Museum:—The place of finding was three-quarters of a mile N.E. of Brighouse, a place lying on the north bank of the Calder, as also due north of Huddersfield. They were thus clearly within the boundaries of the Brigantine kingdom. There are stated to be no traces of a Roman road contiguous to the spot, but about a mile to the east are remains of a Roman camp. The coins came to light as some workmen were uncovering the rock for quarrying purposes: and were found twenty inches below the surface, between the black alluvial soil and the stratum of red clayey earth, which was immediately underneath.

Regarding date. Consular and family coins seem to have ceased when Augustus obtained the empire. This, therefore, would not particularly interfere with the idea that the Dumno, of the inscription, and the Dumno, of the coins, might have been one and the same person: that is, supposing the latter word to be a man's name.

Besides the inscribed types of the coins, there are two others not inscribed, figs. 6 and 7 of the plate: and of the last of these there is an ancient forgery, fig. 8, a copper coin plated over with gold. Fig. 6 likewise itself may be regarded as the antiquated counterfeit of some other coin, having the appearance of being copper, thickly plated over with silver. It was purchased at York for the Museum there, about two years since, but the place of its discovery is not known.

REFERENCES TO THE PLATE.

The coins are engraved from the originals as follows:—Fig. 1, from the York Museum. Fig. 2, from the British Museum; weight, 83 grs. Fig. 3, from the York Museum; weight, 83 grs. Fig. 4, from ditto; weight, 85 grs. Fig. 5, from the British Museum; weight, $83\frac{4}{10}$ grs. Fig. 6, from the York Museum. Fig. 7, from the British Museum; weight, $82\frac{6}{10}$ grs. Fig. 8, from ditto.

ON THE HEAD OF JANUS, FOUND ON A BRITISH COIN.

BY WILLIAM BELL, ESQ., PHIL. DOCT., FOREIGN SECRETARY.

“Ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius”.

THE figure of the double-head god, Janus Bifrons, occurs on at least one undoubted British coin; for the legend Cuno, with which it is accompanied, and the Camu on its reverse, do not allow a question as to the country of its production.¹ It seems of more frequent occurrence in France, for on a cursory review of the plates accompanying *la Système de la Numismatique Française*, of our learned associate, Mons. Lelewel, I find, on plate III one fig. 19, and on plate V two figs. 15 and 16: there may be more, but that is not at present material, and these French ones are all without legends of any kind.



Nothing is more settled than that the Latins took the name of this god from *Janua*, a gate; and even if, *vice versa*, *Janua* should be derived from *Janus* (which is more probable, though I shall not now go into that subject), it is sufficient for my present purpose that the verbal connexion betwixt the deity and gate is evident. The myths connected with the shutting of the gates of Janus' temple, in time of peace, and opening them by the consuls when the senate had determined to try the force of the Roman legions against some unfortunate barbaric enemy, proves that the derivation is correct; for the essential attribute of the deity is recognized—that of opening and shutting—the closing the old and commencing a new year, was another of his functions. The social position of this deity (if I may so term it) in the classic Olympus, was originally much higher than what he held when the intrusion of Homeric divinities and Grecian myths had usurped the places and

¹ Copied from Ruding's "Annals of British Coinage", pl. v, fig. 24; described vol. III, p. 237.

names of the indigenous gods of Etruria and the Ossii. Yet even then the ancient traditions were not entirely lost; and Ovid, in his *Fasti* (lib. i, v. 89), amongst much laudation, addresses to him the following remarkable couplet:

“Quem tamen esse Deum te dicam Jane biformis?
Nam tibi par nullum Græcia nomen habet”.

“How biformed Janus am I thee to call,
Who of the Græcian gods surpasses all.”

Another poet makes him founder of Rome, whilst the parent of Jupiter is obliged to take up with Alba Longa as a client:

“Hanc Janus Pater, hanc Saturnius condidit urbem
Janiculum huic, illi Saturnia nomen.”

And it may be owing to an undercurrent of superstition and secret veneration, dating long before Romulus and his robber crew, that this hill of Janus, the Janiculum, is still the centre of devotion and reverence to the entire Catholic world: for the unsurpassed fabric of St. Peter's, and the Vatican palace, occupy nearly its entire site; and the latter name is but a reminiscence of those vaticinations and auguries which the Romans received with their god from the Etrurians, and practised on this hill so successfully.

In the elastic belief of Italy, bound by no creeds nor rigidly defined, they seemed easily to have found the powers and attributes of every foreign and imported divinity in their own indigenous Janus. It was, however, natural, that as supreme in rank and first in antiquity,¹ the limited prerogatives and actions of the inferior gods should all centre in his superior power: “quicquid major continet in se minus”, is logical and necessary. Macrobius, *Sat. lib. i. cap. ix*, p. 225 (edit. Lugd. Bat. 8vo, 1670), has an express chapter: “qui deus Janus deque variis ejus dei nominibus et potestate”. In a *resumé* of the opinions of the learned on this divinity—his title and his double form—the author has collected with diligence sufficient to allow us, by an easy implication, to give him the signs and designations of all the later gods. He finds him identified with the sun: “Janum quidem solem demonstrari volunt”—with Apollo

¹ Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus deorum deus canitur (Janus).
—Macrobius, *Sat. lib. i*, cap. 9.

and Diana: "nam sunt qui Janum eundem esse atque Apollinem et Dianam dicant"; and a number of expressive epithets identify him with the other denizens of their temples: "In sacris quoque invocamus Janum geminum, Janum patrem, Janum Junonium, Janum Consivium, Janum Quirinum, Janum Patulcium et Clusivium"; the *patrem* is here put for *dispater*, or Jove, and though Mercury is not mentioned in express terms, the exact conformity of the offices of both gives us an undoubted conformity. Cæsar includes, in his attributes of the Gaulish Mercury: "hunc viarum et itinerum ducem", almost exactly copied by Macrobius for some features of his picture of the Bifrons: "nam et cum clavo ac virga figuratur; quasi omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum": a meaning which Cicero's idea of the name will strengthen, who supposed it, "non Janum sed Eanum, ab eundo". The Heimskringla of Snorro, in relating the passage of Odin from Asgard to the West, conforms remarkably in the predicates given to his hero with this description, and with the leader of his nation. Having found an identity with the Sun and Apollo, it would be allowable to introduce all *their* synonyms into the comparison, and then scarcely an adoration in any country could be excluded. Macrobius finds (cap. xx) Hercules the same as the Sun, even in name, ἥρας κλεος. Cap. xxi. "Adonin Attinem Osirin et Horum aliud non esse quem Solem", cap. xxxiii. "Jovem quoque et Assyriorum Adad eundem esse quem Solem."

Thus much it was necessary to premise, and to remind you of the high standing of this divinity amongst the earliest tribes of Italy. For in fact he occupies the same place there that Thor, the supreme god of the Edda and our British heathenism, possesses in the Scandinavian theogony. In still stronger terms of language than what I have adduced for Janus, and in infinitely surpassing wonders of arms and actions, are the greatness and supremacy of the arctic god celebrated through those remarkable poems. I should have to transcribe the whole, were I to relate all the feats attributed to him, which are in full keeping with those of the Olympic Jupiter: like him Thor could alone wield the lightning-bolts of heaven, or roll the dreadful thunder in the clouds. Our denomination of thunder is but his name sifted through the Dutch *donder*, the Teu-

tonic *donner*, the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon *tonar*, contracted into *Thor*. Here the name becomes significant and highly expressive—equally so and identically the same in meaning with that emphatic designation of the Supreme in Scripture,—the *Ancient of Days*; for *Thor*, or *T'or*, or *'tor*, resolves itself into the definite article *the*, contractedly *'t* and *or*, which in all the Theotisc dialects signifies undefined and undefinable extension, either in time or space.¹ Our corresponding English word is *yore*, by us now restricted to time, and at present obsolete, except adverbially with the preposition *of*, as—*of yore*; but in Spenser's time it had a more substantial position. He says (*Fairy Queen*, xii, p. 27):

“Which he hath polluted oft and yore”.

And in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, p. 105, we read:

“No worse a death than I deserved yore”.

Thor, therefore, rendered into our present language, would be *the yore*—the old or ancient. It is, too, a singular coincidence, in the superstitions amongst ourselves and our continental neighbours, that those curious fossils which the vulgar call thunder-bolts, have just the same name there as *donner keule*, or *thunder shafts*. *Thor's* great instrument, with which he ultimately destroys the giants, as *Jove* overthrows the *Titans* under a huge mountain, is *his hammer*, the dreadful *Miölnr*.

We may add, that the now vulgar appropriation of this *miölnr*, as *a mill*, *to mill*, in the language of the ring, seems but the resurrection of a meaning and a serious expression, which has significancy in cognate dialects, most probably in use for two to two and a half thousand years. By this weapon, and the method of fighting, the Celt or *framea* is meant; and the grinding and crushing process of their action is that of a mill-stone, to which *Thor's* *miölnr* gave its name and action. Its symbol is the almost universal and mysterious *crux ansata*, or broken cross; which, for want of a better name, goes, I understand in England, under the corruption of *philpot*.

Here, then, are two divinities of differing climes and very distant periods, in eminence, in attributes and power not

¹ Examples are in German: *die Ur-welt*: *das Ur-alter*.

much dissimilar, in a remote antiquity and a mythic obscurity identical; sufficient considerations perhaps of themselves to establish a great presumption of identity of origin, but that there remains behind the strongest of all corroborative proofs—*identity of name*. I have already shewn the congruity betwixt Janus and *janua*, a gate; and so is Thor also a gate, and by these four identical letters, THOR, do the sixty millions of people, who (exclusive of Britain), speak the German dialect still, and to this hour, designate a gateway, or what the French call a *porte cochér*. Their modification of this word, when they mean to express a smaller or inner entrance, is *thür*, pronounced when written to our eye, tier, and through this variation we have adopted the word *door*, with the same significancy.

From the presence of our national shibboleth, th, or *θ*, we do not pronounce these four letters as our continental brethren, who can only say tor, not thor; yet when we consider the Anglo-Saxon th, or *θ*, differing only from a capital modern D, by a transverse stroke through the upright limb, it may easily be accounted for, either by inadvertence or ignorance, that we have dropped the h in our transference of the name to our own *door*.

So exact is the classic congruity with our modern practice, that we frequently find any opening or passage in a wall called Janus. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* lib. II: “*Ex quo transitiones perviæ jani nominantur*”. *Sueton. in Domit.:* “*Janos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum*”. *Ovid, Fast.*, I, 257: “*Cum tot sint jani, cur stas sacratus in uno?*”

We need not, therefore, be astonished to find the impress of this the earliest and most potent deity of the inhabitants of Italy (who passed successively under the name of Pelasgoi, Etrurians, Romans, Tuscans), on our own indigenous coins, when we find we have the same identical, verbal, and symbolical cause to place it there that influenced the Italian moneyers: with them it represented, as Janus, the gate or boundary of past and present; the finish of an old, the commencement of a new year; but with us exactly so as a *Thor*, the same gate, the same limit of a portion of time past and of time to come. It seems to me no identity could be more strictly proved. It is a mathematical certainty, according to Euclid's axiom, that two things equal to a

third are equal to another: Janus is a gate; Thor likewise; therefore Janus and Thor also are the same. Q.E.D.

If we consider, too, the process by which this singular figure must have been formed, and that it may have been identical in both countries, if not carried over to both from an older religion and a distant clime, we may then account for its appearance among us without considering it as a mere Roman plagiarism, devoid of meaning or reason, and an imitation without a motive. In both countries it would be equally natural for a landholder to fix a post, or pillar, to mark his proprietary rights: his neighbour would but be led from a similar impulse to assert his conterminal privileges by a similar erection.

The Roman practice was congenial to their fine perception of the beautiful: a person or a parish, a canton or a country, defined the limits of their property and lands by a nicely tapering trunk, assuming by degrees the tracery of features, and ultimately exalted into the bust and ornament of the human face divine. To this form their extended toleration and great powers of abstraction gave the prerogatives and worship of a god, and called him Terminus, or Hermes, and by a pardonable degree of national pride, for the idea was for a long period founded on truth, they feigned of the god Terminus of their Capitol (who symbolically represented the boundaries of the empire), that when all the other gods were compelled to retrograde, he alone refused to move: meaning by this myth to signify, what they then had some reason for assuming, that the limits of the Roman rule would never recede.¹

I think to have thus proved, that when doubled as a Janus, he was a northern deity; and it will now be my purpose to show the same fact of the moiety or Terminus, who also bore the name of Hermes: he again is identified under the title of Trismegistus, as the Tot Thaut of the Egyptians, who is identical with the German Teutates, the undoubted Tuisco whom Tacitus, *De Moribus German.* chap. II, calls Tuisto, and says, “celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuistonem deum terra editum”; and the present name by which the Germans call themselves, *Deutsche*, or *Teutschen*, is the best evidence of the truth of

¹ The curious title of the rulers of the resuscitated empire of the west in Ger- many: *immer Mehrer des Reiches*, is the active expression of the same idea.

Tacitus, and the enduring properties of language. This would be of itself a satisfactory trace of the pantheistic influence of this deity, under his substitute of Tuisco for Hermes; but I have a still nearer proof, without recurring to distant Egypt or the Nile. It is found in the exact verbal conformity, at a comparatively recent period, between this universal Hermes and the most general designations of the deity prevalent in the northern regions of Europe. This name was Bog, the Slavonian word for god; and with the combinations of the words in their language signifying good and bad, it represented the good and evil principle—the duality of Ormuzd and Ahriman, as received from their Persian progenitors. The first is Biel, signifying white, the essential property of all things derived from or representing the great god Helios, the author of light and heat; and in this combination it became BIEL-BOG. White entered into the names of most of the Wendic deities, as—Gero-*vit* or Hero-*vit*, Pore-*vit*, Rugia-*vit*, Swato-*vit* or Swanto-*vit*—and is but the translation of Biel (the Asiatic Bel) into a more modern dialect, and is still preserved in the names of many eastern European places, amongst which Biel-gorod (the white city), now Belgrade, is the most known. But the name in its entirety is still found in the village of Bielbog, in Pommern, which, till the Reformation, was a famous cloister, built, no doubt, upon the site of an equally famous heathen fane dedicated to this beneficent deity. The name of the opposing principle was *Zerne-bog*, equally significant; for *zerni* or *zrini*, in all the Slavonic dialects, still signifies black; and Bog, in the phrase, *Pomeloi Bog*, or “Bless you God”, is the common salutation to a passer-by throughout Bohemia; so much so, that their neighbours in the two Lausitz have taken it up as a nickname, which they give the inhabitants of the Austrian side of the Riesengebirge, in the same spirit that “*Herr God damme*” is applied to all Englishmen on the Continent as a generic, from, I am sorry to say, not so laudable a practice. From the significance of this word as Bog or God, it has also descended to its visible symbol, the *bock*, as *stein-bock*, the gemse or ibex: this Bock received, no doubt, its name from the sanctity in which it was held before the introduction of Christianity, and which, in a subordinate degree, is exhibited in the classic veneration of Pan and

the Satyrs. The Puck of Shakespeare is of the same cast of names, and deserves an independent discussion. But the most curious and certain proof of the divinity of the bock is still in our language, in which, under the name *goat*, only as a variation of *good* and *God*, we still vindicate to this now despised animal his former supremacy of worship; and in no other language is this curious verbal coincidence found. But, as I argue for an early uniformity of worship or tradition throughout every region of the globe, I should not have rested satisfied, or thought my theory convincing, had any doubt remained that this name of Hermes was not connected with the northern *bock*; I am happy, therefore, to say, the union is most certain and satisfactory. Every one is familiar with the excellent tale of Reinecke the Fox, of which, if not the original, at least the best version, is found in the *Platt Deutsch* or Low German of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I possess a later version, dated Hamburgh 1606, which is in many other respects curious, but more especially for the notes and elucidations of the subject. At the back of page 61, first book and nineteenth chapter, is a long list of all the birds and beasts who combine to bring their complaints against Reinicke Voss before Nobel the lion, and is of itself as curious as the list of Grecian ships in the *Iliad*, to which poem Goethe, (who made a bad high German paraphrase from the low dialect), thought it in nothing inferior. At this place, then, to only cite a few lines of this obscure tongue, we find the following:—

“Dar quam Isegrim mit alle synen magen
 Hyntze de Kater, und Bruen de Bare,
 Und der deerte ein grote schare:
 Lampe de Hase und de Esel Boldewyn
 Clackerlos de klene ock de grote hund Ryn:
 Metke de Tzege und Harmen de Bock
 Eichhorn, Weselken Hermelken weren dar ock.”

A translation of a list of names is seldom entertaining. I shall only remind you that Isegrim for the wolf—Bruin for the bear, are still recognized in our own language; but *Harmen*, or hermen, for the bock or goat, is new, and is the conformity I desired. The knowledge of natural history in antiquity was very restricted; at all events, its nomenclature was very unsettled, of which I could bring many

and startling proofs, if I did not perceive that I was extending these remarks beyond due bounds. But the present appropriation of this name of hermen, by the dropping of the aspirate (a very usual occurrence in etymology) become ermine, to the diminutive animal of the arctic regions, whose furry clothing is so purely white as fully to represent the white divinity, the Bielbog, and whose synonym it therefore assumed, cannot be passed over. The restriction of the use of its skin to kings and their representatives will be as much owing to its sacredness as to its scarcity; and when our immortal Shakespeare says, "so much divinity doth hedge a king", he may have fancied him clothed in the regal ermine mantle; and the idea would then be not only metaphorically, but physically, appropriate. But we can ascend to the actual deities of the north for a verbal Hermen in their obscure Olympus. The great god of the Saxons, located on the Weser, which it took Charlemagne thirty years, with all his Frankish hosts, to reach and destroy, was named Irmen Saüle, or Hermen on the Pillar; and, in our own country, the Irmin Straet is an undeniable vestige of the name and the divinity, under whatever shape he was adored: it may ultimately have taken the signification of the Via Sacra, which intersected the Roman Forum; but this must be the subject of an independent discussion.

Having traced both the conjoint and single figure, as Janus and Hermes, to the sacred ideas of the north, we shall now see how, even at the present day, the idea of sanctity, majesty, and rule, remain and are traceable in our modern Janus or Thors—our posts and gateways.

The Icelandic chroniclers mention a curious circumstance respecting the first colony that settled there, flying from the conquering and harsh sway of Harald Harfager, towards the close of the ninth century. With a laudable desire of having some remembrance of their ancient settlements, and of the spots on which the bones of their ancestors were buried, they carefully disengaged the lintels from the entrance to their temple (they were still heathens), and embarked thence in their cyauls, in which they crossed the Atlantic. On approaching the rocky coasts of Iceland, and being in doubt as to the most favourable spot for landing and founding their new homes, they trusted to the augury

of their gods, and throwing overboard the ancient door-posts, disembarked where these sacred emblems were found to have fixed themselves; and there they built a new town, called Reikawig, and a temple, for which the posts formed the entrance.

But, in the most venerated relic of heathendom in Britain, in Stonehenge, we find undoubted traces of this regard to Thor, both in its sacred and verbal application. It is well known that this venerable relic of antiquity consists of various concentric circles of stones: one of them is an aggregation of trigliths, or of two upright sides, with one horizontal crossing them at the top. What are these but so many *Thors*? It must be an independent inquiry, whether these lintelled doorways are like the subsequent additions to many of our cathedrals, a later augmentation of the original structure? Not the least cogent reason for such belief, would be the difference in the texture of their stone from the rest, which I state on the authority of Mr. Cunningham: their not standing concentrically with the others, and, above all, their having been tooled, and pinions worked on their tops for corresponding holes in the horizontal beams, to fix them steady, which may be easily and satisfactorily ascertained, by ocular inspection of those fallen.

The sanctity of posts, no doubt, was the origin of their being borne before persons in office as emblems of dignity. The state Cardinal Wolsey assumed was fully regal. In the original stage directions for the performance of Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII*, his entry is described, and amongst his attendants, "two gentlemen, bearing two great silver pillars"; and Steevens remarks, "Wolsey had one pillar borne before him as cardinal, and another as legate," which I doubt, and believe them to have been emblems rather of civil than ecclesiastical power; for in an accompanying citation from an ancient satirical poem, by William Ray, are the following verses:—

" With worldly pomp incredible,
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they did bear two crosses right longe,
Gapyne in every man's face ;
After them follow two lay men secular,
And each of them holdyn a pillar
In their hands instead of mace."

Here we find the ecclesiastical dignities signified by crosses, borne by priests; and as laymen bear the pillars instead of the mace, it is but probable to conclude that they typified the dignity of chancellor and some other high office. Independently of maces being only these pillars crowned and ornamented,¹ I can adduce another instance, from the corporation of the borough of Hull, before the Reform Bill stripped off all the salutary emblems of authority and rule. Two high staves, surmounted with solid silver knobs, were borne before the mayor on state occasions, and, during his presence at the magistrates' office, affixed to the entrance; at other times they were affixed to the posts of his private residence: and even the iron loops in which they rested were afterwards visible proofs of estimation and worth in the eyes of his fellow-burgesses. This would illustrate a passage from the *Twelfth Night*, act i, scene 5, where Malvolio says of the disguised Viola, "He says he'll stand at your door like a post"; and Warburton writes on this passage: "It was the custom for that officer to have large posts set up at his door, as an indication of his office"; but when he adds, "the original of which was, that the king's proclamation and other public acts might be affixed thereto", I have no hesitation in saying he mistook a consequence for a cause. It is, perhaps, from the dignity such posts conferred, that they were actually assumed by those who only had the aspirations, without the actual office, which would account for the number standing isolated before houses in the side streets of Piccadilly and elsewhere, in London, and also in other old towns. In vol. xix, p. 383, of the *Archæologia*, are two very interesting drawings of old houses at Norwich, where the richly carved door-posts fully evince the superior respect and adornment bestowed upon them; and I think it is there I met the apposite quotation from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Widow*, act iv:

"I'll love your door the better while I know't.

Widow. A pair of such brothers were fitter for posts without doors, indeed, to make a show at a new chosen magistrate's gate."

¹ The prevalence of Latinity in the church, induced them to name their mace-bearer *verger*, from *virga*, a staff; whence Cæsar says, that at Bibracte, afterwards Augustodunum, now Autun, a biennial, magistrate was called

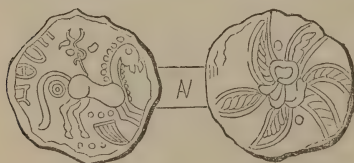
virgobretus: an office which under the title of *vierges*, existed in that city to the revolution of 1789. Their names and dates fill eleven pages (116 to 126) of the *Mémoires de la Soc. Eduenne*, 1844.

The very *wands* of stewards, chamberlains, and ushers, are only the post, reduced to portable and genteel size; and its literal meaning is the same, being derived from the German *wand*, which signifies a wall, but at a time when the walls of our houses and churches consisted but of up-right posts of wood, like the church of Greenstead, in Essex. *Wand*, in the hands of harlequin or a conjuror, is from a different application of the theotisc root, for *change*, which we still retain in *wane*, *wander*; and many winding rivers, Wandle, Wantsor—but the change here is transferred from object to subject, from the change itself to the power of producing it.

The transition was easy and natural in our ancestors, from a part to the whole, from the posts themselves to the doors and porches of their temples; and this *prestige* of sanctity and reverence was carried over into the Christian creed and practice. The entrances, perhaps, in all our oldest churches, and most of the dwelling-houses of any pretensions, are the most laboured, sometimes the only decorated parts of the edifice. In fact, many of our architects have gone so far as to surmise that they have been frequently left intact, when all the other portions of a building were levelled to the ground to be re-built. One of the most splendid and elaborate specimens of a doorway, particularly when the otherwise insignificant character of the church to which it is attached is considered, is that of St. Margaret, at York: it has been figured in the *Fragmenta*, in Drake's *Eboracum*, of course, and in Carter's *Ancient Sculptures*, as well as in innumerable minor publications; and is, no doubt, known to most of our Society, at least from these engravings. This church-entrance has caused much discussion, and the evident discrepancy of style, execution and ornament, with the other parts of the building into which it is included, have led to the pretty general supposition that it was originally a portion of another building. Under this impression, Mr. John M'Gregor was induced to send a letter to James Losh, esq., President of the Newcastle Archæological Association, which is printed in the second volume of the *Archæologia Eliana*. In this the author labours to prove, from the nature of the emblems and figures, that it originally formed the porch to a Mithriacum, or temple of Mithras, at York, as a Mithriatic monument had been found

there, which is depicted in Hargrove's history of that city, and lectured upon by the rev. C. Wellbeloved; and it is undoubted that scarcely any important station on the northern frontier of the Roman world was without one of those structures devoted to a species of mysticism, having many points in common with modern Freemasonry. Besides York, in Britain, Mithriatic caves have been found at Chester, and at the Housesteads stations on the Roman wall (this latter surpassing in curiosity and sculptures any found in any other part of the world): so also all along the Roman walls in Germany, variously called Heidenmauer, Pfalzgraben, by the peasantry; at Hedderheim and Ladenburg, and many other places. It is not to be supposed that this appropriation of the principal feature of a Christian temple, at its origin, from a Pagan fane, could pass uncontroverted. In 1827 Mr. John Browne published a quarto pamphlet in reply, in which he endeavours to vindicate the porch and its origin to the pure creed of Christ. It is not my present province here to chronicle or decide the dispute farther. I only adduce it as a remarkable proof of the idea that porches and doors are often considered more ancient, and preserved more carefully, than other parts of a building, from the sanctity which their verbal conformity with the supreme deity of the oldest British and Scandinavian creeds induced; as I may add upon the evidence of the coins under discussion, and of others of the same antiquity.

I mention other coins besides the one under discussion, for it is not on this single type I rely. By the kindness of our most respected member, the rev. Beale Poste, I am able to offer another undoubted British coin, which, while the double-headed Janus bears its northern denomination merely as a rebus, furnishes the same in plain and undeniable letters, for we have there the legend *ATHORI*.



Now, independent of the simple form of *Thor*, the variations of the name as *Athori*, *Authori*, and *Aükthori*, continually occur in both Eddas, in the elder of

Frode-Sæmundr and the younger of Snorro Sturelson; and after the explanations I have given, I think no reasonable doubt can be entertained that we here have the *præsens*

numen of the greatest of the northern trinity plainly pointed out in unmistakeable characters, and whose worship endured in our island to the Christian period; at least as we learn from the, in this case certainly unexceptionable, evidence of the venerable Bede. I could heap up proof upon proof, from our earliest medalllic history, that its best exegesis is from the Eddas; and I should be able to give much corroborative evidence, from the earliest myths of Greece and Rome. In fact, we have in the Greek name of Janus, *Θυριος*, the exact conformity of the northern name, and perfectly agreeing with my explanation, from his relations to door. Macrobius (*Saturnalia*) says: “Et enim sicut Nigidius quoque refert apud Græcos Apollo colitur qui *Θυριος* vocatur: ejusque aras ante fores suos celebrant ipsum exitus et introitus demonstrantes perpetuum”; and the previous sentence had already fixed the identity of Janus with Apollo and Diana. “Janum eundem esse atque Apollinem et Dianam dicunt et in hoc uno utrumque exprimi numen affirmunt”. The *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and many tales in the philosophic reveries of Plutarch, are often curiously illustrative of parts of the great Scandinavian mythology; perhaps its best commentary, and *vice versâ*. In fact, the above would embrace only part of a work, in which I shall endeavour to establish that our earliest history, after the more convincing proofs of dialects and words, is to be found in the numerous coins which have been dug out of our soil, and are treasured up in the cabinets of our archaeologists. The many conformities that may be deduced from them, and much of our popular superstitions, and their great expositors, the Sagas and Quiddas of the north—will enable me to establish, I trust beyond a doubt, the identity of all the European races as branches of the great Indo-Germanic people, separating at different times and under various influences of soil and climate, yet still preserving unchanged an undercurrent of opinions, manners, traditions, and language, that require only investigation to be brought to light and proved unbroken. My theory will, I am aware, disturb many notions that we now consider settled, fixed as holy writ, and will encounter many prejudices, perhaps gain much obloquy; but as I shall base what I advance only on undoubted monuments and established writings, and simply place known facts in a new light,

that are now inexplicable, and bring them into mutually explanatory contact, I shall openly state these opinions and fearlessly await the result.

I feel, however, that I should not be doing justice to my subject, if I did not also point out another conformity in the northern and southern beliefs on this subject; the more important, as neither have hitherto been accounted for, nor are capable of explanation, without a joint consideration.

The opening of the temple of Janus, at Rome, by the consuls, upon the declaration and commencement of a war after the *Senatus Consultum*, has been already alluded to, and is well known; but though so common as scarcely to be a metaphor in speech for the commencement of discord, and transferred as a compliment to a sovereign, it has hitherto eluded every attempt at a satisfactory explanation. Thus Horace, in *Carm. lib. iv, car. xv*:—

“Tua, Cæsar, ætas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus; *et vacuum duellis*
Janum Quirini clausit.”

The continuous wars of the commonwealth offered the blessings of universal peace, and the opportunity of closing these gates, only twice betwixt the reigns of Numa and Augustus. So politic or fortunate, however, was the latter, that he could order them to be shut thrice in a single reign; though perhaps the resistance of the Cantabri and the Dacians, which were, when subdued, the two latest occasions, would by less servile flatterers have been termed revolts, not wars. Even this increased practice seems never to have engaged any Roman casuist or antiquary to inquire into the meaning and origin of the custom. But it is certain that the *closing* of a door necessarily involves the possibility or power of its reverse—that it should be also *opened*: if the temple was shut in peace, it must have been *opened* upon the commencement of a war. The difference of the two acts, in regard to the myth, was of no importance: the one practice was essential to the other. Of the Teutonic myths, which only give the opening action, we

have no right to demand the interior: its examination is only with them the exception to the general rule of being fastened; but as the continuous opening of the Roman temple, gave their authors every opportunity of inspection, we demand a *de jure* description; and Virgil (*Æneid*, lib. i), has drawn a frightful picture, which offers many of the horrors of the wolf's glen:—

“Aspera tum positis mitescent sæcula bellis.
 Cana Fides, et Vesta, et Remo cum fratre Quirinus,
 Jura dabunt; diræ ferro et compagibus arctis
 Claudentur Belli portæ; Furor impius intus
 Sæva sedens super arma, et centum vinctis aënis
 Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.”

It is the moment of *opening* which the German fables prefer to contemplate. In Weber's beautiful opera of the *Freischütz*, founded on and including many of the old traditions of his native forests and their Jäger, whether as hunters and woodsmen—a class of society which such extensive tracts of pines and noble beeches, and the necessity of their scientific nurture and systematic felling, as the universal and nearly sole fuel of the country, have raised into a much higher rank, as they likewise form a more numerous body than with us,—their superstitions are, therefore, more widely diffused and more respected than we are accustomed to regard them at home; and the diablerie of Weber's fourth act was for this reason more easily acknowledged and more readily appreciated as national, than we can pretend to. His dissuasive horrors rise in intensity to the final seventh, when they are consummated by the passing across the stage of the “*wilde Jagd*”—an ærial troop of dogs, horses, and huntsmen, in a noisy and boisterous chase after a goblin deer. The transformation into a hunt seems the later adaptation of an earlier and more imposing cavalcade by these foresters: their substitution for an earlier version of the myth, where the principal actor is a knight and warrior. Grüter, in his periodical *Idunna* and *Hermode* (1st Jahrgang, p. 172), admits the relation of a knight, who having savagely repulsed his wife when near parturition, had caused her death. For this, his crowning and other sins, he was compelled to wander (an unquiet spirit) from his residence, on one hill, to an opposite one,

on another, to the end of time. The connecting link, however, of the Teutonic and classic stories was, that these dreadful visitations were never to take place, *except when a war impended over the empire* ; for, as the story continues, *he was then to sally out from the open doors of his own castle, to be the harbinger of the coming woes*. It makes no difference, that the Italian practice hailed the shutting of these doors, as the forerunners of the blessings of peace. Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (ed. 1844, 870), is very diffuse upon the subject of this *wüthendes Heer*, which he is inclined to bring under the modification of *wüothendes*, in direct connexion with *Woden*. The most complete relation of the popular story is contained in Weber's *German Travels*, copied into Lewald's *Handreisebuch*, vol. i, p. 20:—"The Gorzheimer valley lies east; in it we find the town of Reichholz, with a ruined castle: after that the Ghost valley (Gespenster Thal) Lichtenfels, and the castle of Rodenstein, with the well-known ghost story of the Roden Wald—the ghost of a knight of Rodenstein, who only lived for foray and following the hounds, and left wife and child to die in misery, and was after her death haunted by her, and thus addressed: 'thou hast murdered thy infant and myself;—be henceforth and for ever the herald of discord.' Ever since, he can have no peace, but moves before the outbreak of every war from the Schnellert to the Rodenstein (other relations give the contrary direction) with his train. The noise of men, the tramp of horses, rolling of waggons, are intermingled with the beating of drums and the sound of the clarion: as soon as it is peace he returns again to his castle of Rodenstein, and all is then still."

The author of an *Autumn on the Rhine* gives some additional particulars, and the slight variation that particular battles are frequently foretold, instead of the general warfare. "About nine miles N.W. from Erbach, between Weichelstein and Belstein, in a wild and secluded mountain district, surrounded by forests, lies the castle of Rodenstein, the seat of the singular superstition of the knight of Rodenstein, or the *wilde Jäger*, who issuing from out of the ruined walls of the neighbouring castle of Schnellert, his usual abode, announces the approach of war, by traversing the air with a noisy armament to the castle of Rodenstein,

situate on a solitary mountain opposite." (It should be here observed that the author has transposed the name of the two castles). "The strange noises heard on the eve of battles are authenticated by affidavits preserved in the village of Reichelstein; some are of so recent a date as 1743 and 1796, and some persons profess to have been convinced by their eyes, as well as their ears. In this manner the people assert they were forewarned of the victories of Leipsig and Waterloo." Weber mentions whole piles of such vouchers in the registry of the amt, or the local court.

The same, or very similar tales, are found in most European countries, where their indigenous mythologies have been investigated. In Scandinavia the title of *Wodens Heer* (Woden's army) is applied to the same fully-credited aerial appearances. In Denmark, king Waldemar II is raised to the office of the god, and forewarns his country of approaching calamity, by issuing from the ruins of his favourite castle of Wordenburg, in Sealand, with great noise and clatter. In France the scene is laid in the wide expanse of woods round Fontainbleau; and his title of Grand, or Grosveneur, would bring him into relation with the marquise of Westminster. In Garinet (*Histoire de la Magie en France*, 1818, p. 171), we find "En 1599, quelques jours auparavant le roi (Henri IV) étant à la chasse dans le forêt de Fontainbleau avec quelques seigneurs, entendit un grand bruit du cors, de veneurs et de chiens, qui semblait être fort loin, et qui s'approche tout-à-coup. Quelques uns de la compagnie rapportèrent au roi, que s'étant approché du bruit, ils virent un grand homme noir dans le taillis, qui leur dit d'une voix affrayante et rauque, *Amendez vous*. Les paysans appelaient le pretendu demon le grand veneur de la forêt de Fontainbleau." It is subsequently related that the whole was a court intrigue to render void the desire of the king for a marriage with la belle Gabrielle; but if a previous belief had not obtained a considerable currency in the country, a pretended apparition would have been ridiculous and unnoticed. The same may be said in England of the legend of Herne the Hunter; so cunningly interwoven by Shakespeare into his *Merry Wives*. The ghost of Herne, the features of the original legend, are somewhat distorted; but a hunter "walking" at the

witching time of night, as Mrs. Page hath it, smacks largely of the *wilde Jäger* :—

“ There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;
And there he blasts the tree and takes the cattle,
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
In a most hideous and dreadful manner.
You have heard of such a spirit; and well you know,
The superstitious idle-headed eld
Received, and did deliver to our age,
This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.”

It is true that we have here rather the perpetrators than the prognosticators of ills; but Falstaff's disguise of a buck's head, and the train of fairies, “*with waxen tapers on their heads*”, the German and goblin miners costume, and even the name of Herne himself, which is an easy contraction of Herman, a great mythic personage, and as Irmensäule, a principal Teutonic deity, seem to point to a German origin. In another play (*The Tempest*) the allusion to the fable is more exact, but its introduction not so felicitous. Act iv, scene 1, at the end, we have as stage directions, “*a noise of hunters heard: enter divers spirits, in the shape of hounds, and hunt them about*”, which might supply all the requisites for the fourth act of the *Freischütz*. Shakespeare was too enthusiastic an admirer of his national traditions, as evinced in every part of his writings, to pass over so remarkable and widely-spread and alluring a relation, if it had been current in his time; and as we find by a relation, rubricked “Folk's Lore”, in the *Athenæum* (20th Oct. 1849), some good examples, to a very modern date, and in the southern counties, we may, therefore, safely conclude that they were also current and believed there in the sixteenth century. In the north counties, and in Scotland, “that land of crag and mist”, both climate and country were favourable to the independent formation of legends, if they had not been imported; but the exact conformity in the copy scarcely admits of indigenous sources, even in “the land of second sight”, and where every social facility exists to—

“ See God in clouds, and hear Him in the wind.”

The following instances will prove that my assertion of near resemblance for England is fully borne out; and it is immaterial whether Speed spoke, in his *Chronicle*, from which we adduce them (edit. 1632), the language and opinions of his own times, or those of earlier writers.

At p. 230: "And in his (Bithric, king of Wessex) tenth year, were seen fiery dragons flying in the aire, which wonders some take to bee presages of the miseries following, both by the invasions of the Pagan *Danes*, that in these times were first seene to arrive in this island, and the extreme famine that afterward happened": p. 754—"Events are the best interpreters of prophecies and prodigies;—strange was that which Walsingham (*Ypodig. Neustr. in Hist.*) hath written, of a fatal spectrum or apparition, in the summer time, between Bedford and Biggleswade, where sundry monsters, of divers colours, in the shapes of armed men, were often seen to issue out of the woods at morning and noone, which, to such as stood farre off, seemed to encounter one the other in most terrible manner, but when they drew nere nothing was to be seene."

In Mr. J. Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes*, p. 55 (fol. Lond. 1787), is the relation of a troop of men on horseback, seen on Souter Fell, in Westmoreland, in which the sense of vision is only involved; for noise and tumult are nowhere mentioned. The compilers of *The Beauties of England and Wales* (Cumberland, p. 58) are inclined to refer it to an optical delusion, analogous to the "Brocken Gespennst" on the Harz, referred to in *Götting. Journal der Naturwissenschaften*, vol. i, p. 3, and neatly explained in *Murray's Hand-Book for Northern Germany, etc.* p. 321. When we, however, find that Clarke's careful attestation of an event happening in 1744 is made by the parties for the first time in 1785; that these parties were illiterate and credulous peasants; and that the document is evidently drawn up by the author in his own language, with motives and consequences which a peasant could neither have suggested nor understood, we may fairly be allowed to receive the narrative with considerable drawbacks; and as the memorable rebellion by the Jacobites occurred in the following few months—the great rebellion of 1745, which disturbed the north, and gave Britain its last experience of the horrors of war upon her own soil—we may almost be per-

mitted to believe, that in the interval of forty-one years, a story may have grown up in the imagination of the narrators, founded upon some under-current of prevalent superstition: this belief, the haze of so large an interval of time, and frequent repetition of what ought to have occurred according to the subsequent events, may have so deeply imprinted a fiction on the mind of the narrators, that they could, no doubt, have conscientiously given the testimony of an oath as to its truth and occurrence.

For Scotland, I borrow the following relations from *Scott's Demonology* (p. 152): "Bessie Dunlop declared, that as she went to tether her nag, by the side of Restalrig Loch (Lochend, near the eastern part of Edinburgh), she heard such a hideous sound of a body of riders rushing past her, with such a noise as if heaven and earth would come together: all this while she saw nothing; but Thomas Reid showed her that the noise was occasioned by the wights, who were performing one of their cavalcades on earth." The following Scottish poetical description, worthy of preserving for its own beauty, is thus introduced by sir Walter Scott (*Demonology*, p. 43), from "*Albania*, a poem, in its original folio edition, so scarce that I have only seen a copy, belonging to the amiable and ingenuous Dr. Beattie, besides the one which I myself possess, printed in the earlier part of the last century":

"There, since of old, the haughty Thanes of Ross
 Were wont, with clans and ready vassals thronged,
 To wake the bounding stag, or guilty wolf,—
 There oft is heard, at midnight and at noon,
 Beginning faint, but rising still more loud,
 And louder voice of numbers, and of hounds,
 And horns hoarse-winded blowing far and keen.
 Forthwith the hubbub multiplies; the air
 Labours with louder shouts and rifer din
 Of close pursuit; the broken cry of deer,
 Mangled by throbbing dogs; the shouts of men
 And hoofs thick beating on the hollow hill.
 Sudden the grazing heifer in the vale
 Starts at the tumult, and the herdsman's ears
 Tingle with inward dread. Aghast he eyes
 The upland ridge and every mountain round,
 But not one trace of living wight descries,

Nor knows, alarmed and trembling as he stands,
 To what or whom he owes his idle fear :
 To ghost, to witch, to fury, or to fiend ;
 But wonders, and no end of wond'ring finds”.

The limits to which these remarks have extended, preclude me from producing many other conformities, and from commenting upon the peculiar sanctity or mysticisms of the locality in which the original German “*wilde Jagd*” is more especially known, viz., in the wood or wolds of Odin (Odenwald), with the Riesen Säule, and Riesen Altar, and the large circle of fourteen stones, called the Hainsäulen—the heathen pillars; *riese* being in German a frequent synonym for heathen, as *riesen gräber*—heathen mounds or tumuli: nor to the name of the highest hill in the district, the Melibocus or Malchenberg, a granite cone, from fifteen to eighteen hundred feet high, and evidently taking its derivation from the Latin translation of Zernebog, as “*Malus Bocus*”; though, as we find the same in the east for the evil influence, at Palmyra, in the plains of Turkestan, and in direct opposition to Belbocus, it may have had a more deeply seated root. My authority herein is *Montfaucon*, vol. ii, p. 179, where the inscription of a Palmyrenian is adduced, in which he mentions *Eglebaal* and *Malebalu* as the gods of his country, and offerings to both for the preservation of himself, his wife, and children.

Sufficient, however, has, I trust, been shown to prove the close connexion in many of the myths of all the countries of Europe; and, were we not stopped by the absence of all evidence save conformities of language and custom, most of them would, doubtless, be found identical. I trust, also, it will not be considered unworthy of remark, how two specimens of the coinage of our earliest race have tended to elucidate much of our present manners, and of our favourite Shakespeare: still, the present remarks are but the *opening* of a rich mine of curious coincidences and unthought-of agreements, betwixt our own customs and those of countries and people at a great distance of time, and in localities widely apart from each other and ourselves, to be further worked, if time and opportunity be afforded me for the enterprise.

ON ROMAN REMAINS, RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT HEADINGTON, NEAR OXFORD.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ.

IN vol. v, p. 159, of *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, a short notice was given of the discovery of some Roman remains at the above place; and it is now proposed to give at greater length an account of the objects found during the excavations which were for a time carried on.

The remains are situated at the distance of about three-quarters of a mile to the west of the Roman road from York to Bittern, near Southampton, as it passes from the station at Allchester to that of Dorchester; the distance from the former station being seven, and from the latter nine, miles. They are also situated on the line of an hitherto undescribed Roman road, apparently leading from Islip, where numerous Roman remains are frequently found,¹ to join the Dorchester line, near Headington. A small portion of this road is mentioned by the rev. R. Hussey,² as existing in the fields between the Islip road and Headington; but he says, "here it vanishes suddenly; in Plot's time, too, it seems, to have ended at the same point as suddenly as it does at present; there is small hope, therefore, of recovering it now." It is hoped, however, that the present notes will assist in indicating the continuation of the road to its probable junction with the main line before mentioned.

By the side of the present Islip road, the Roman way is distinctly visible, and there crosses three narrow streams, by means of small stone arched courses, or bridges, the roadway being formed of flag-stones; from this spot the road appears to take a slanting direction across the present turnpike, and is then distinctly traceable across the fields to the portion, which has been referred to before, as noticed

¹ See *Journal*, vol. v, p. 39: "Historical Notices of Islip", by J. O. Halliwell. I have also several Roman coins from this place.

² Account of the Roman road from Allchester to Dorchester, and other Roman remains in the neighbouring district. 8vo.

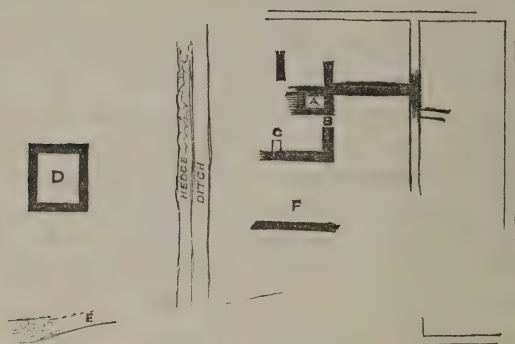
by Mr. Hussey, and where it is raised some feet above the level of the fields. Along this line, I have found many fragments of Roman pottery. From this point the road is still partially visible, and it has apparently crossed the streams in Colley pond, by means of two arched courses, similar to those before described; beyond this, portions of the road may be seen in the hedge of a field adjoining the remains of the buildings now under consideration. From the villa to the village of Headington, the remains of the Roman road are scarcely discernible, although there are some indications of the probable line, upon which fragments of pottery and coins have been found; but beyond the village the ridge is still traceable for some distance, and appears to lead in a direct line to the main road on Bullingdon Green. It may be well to notice also, that there is a portion of a road crossing Stow wood, *apparently* forming a junction between the Islip road and the main line in the direction of Woodperry house, near Beckley.

The fields in which the remains were discovered are situated in the parishes of Headington and Elsfield; the hedge dividing the fields (and which grows on portions of the Roman buildings), also forming the line of division of the two parishes. The situation is one of the most desirable in the neighbourhood, commanding as it does one of the finest and most extensive prospects which that part of the county affords. Immediately in front, on the opposite side of the valley, is seen the village of Headington, embosomed in majestic trees; to the right, on another hill, is the picturesque and wooded village of Elsfield; whilst in the valley, between the two, lies the city of Oxford, with its many spires, domes, and towers.

The walls which were laid bare will be seen from the accompanying plan; but there are traces of walls and rooms covering nearly the whole of the two fields, and protected on the lower side by remains of earthworks of no ordinary extent. At A, on the plan, was a small bath,¹ the floor and sides of which were covered with a red plaster. Its dimensions were: length, three feet ten inches; width, two feet three inches and a half; and depth, one foot six inches. The floor was composed of a mass of coarse concrete, one

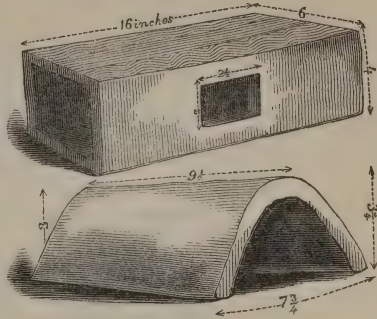
¹ Baths of very similar form were discovered at Hartlip last summer, and another has just been laid bare in a villa near Towcester.

foot two inches and a half thick, covered with a finer layer of the same material, three inches and a half thick, on which was the plaister coating. In the bath was a quantity of small bones. Adjoining the bath, B had evidently been an



arched doorway, and one of the key-stones was found lying in it; the key-stone, which is four inches and three-quarters long, three inches wide at the top, and two inches at the bottom, and two inches in thickness, is ornamented with a kind of flower, formed of a circle of small holes. It is worthy of remark, that this stone is sand-stone, whilst most of the building is composed of the lime-stone of the neighbourhood. The stones by the side of the doorway were completely vitrified on their surfaces, which would tend to show that it must have been the entrance to a furnace. Underneath the building, at a depth of three feet below the foundations, was a stone drain. At c, was a large heap of wood-ashes and charcoal, covered with a flat stone, on which were the remains of a thick bar of iron; at c and F, some floors of concrete; and at D was a small room, fourteen feet long, by ten feet seven inches wide, the walls of which were two feet in thickness, and were remaining to the height of four feet six inches above the level of the flooring. The walls were covered with a red plaister, similar to that used in the small bath, and the floor was of concrete, ten inches in thickness. The ceiling of this room had apparently been arched, for masses of stone, firmly cemented together, were found

in it. In this room were found a portion of a plaister moulding, or cornice of a room, a perfect flue tile, sixteen inches long, six inches wide, and four inches deep, and having two transverse square holes, two inches and three-quarters by two inches square, and the solid sides ornamented with straight and waved lines; a coin of Probus, and one of Postumus; several fragments of pottery; some iron implements (plate IV, figs. I, II, III, and IV), a knife, two bone pins, etc.; most of which articles are in the possession of the tenant of the field, Mr. Martin Tagg, of Elsfield. At E is a portion of a pitched path, three feet wide, which has apparently crossed the grounds of the villa.



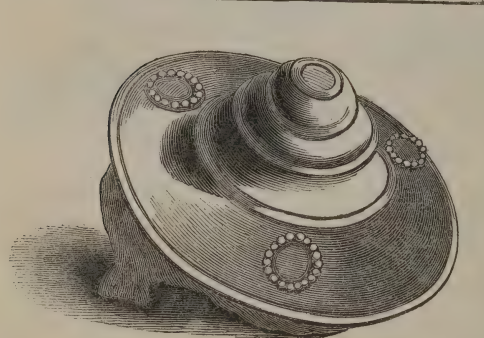
Amongst the remains found during the excavation, and



which are in my own possession, was a clay mould of a female head, having a head dress composed of a wreath of vine leaves. The face has a remarkably pleasing expression, and is beautifully formed. The mould is of a rough lump of red clay, and has been broken on its sides.

The Umbo of a shield, which is one inch and nine-tenths in diameter (as shown in the accompanying en-

graving), is of an elegant and unusual shape: it is of brass, with iron fixings, and is ornamented with three beaded studs.¹ With it were found a few bits of thin brass.



The small globular bronze bell, which is engraved of the full size of the original (see fig. 1), was found during the excavations, at the same depth as the other Roman remains. It is of the same shape as those

used for horse bells at the present day. Bells of similar shape have been found with Roman remains at Heydon and Chesterford, by the hon. R. C. Neville, and at other places; and I am informed by my friend Mr. Joseph Clarke, that there is one now preserved in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, labelled as a "*bead*, found at Shefford with seven Roman urns". In the collection of Mr. E. B. Price, are two bells of nearly similar size, and



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

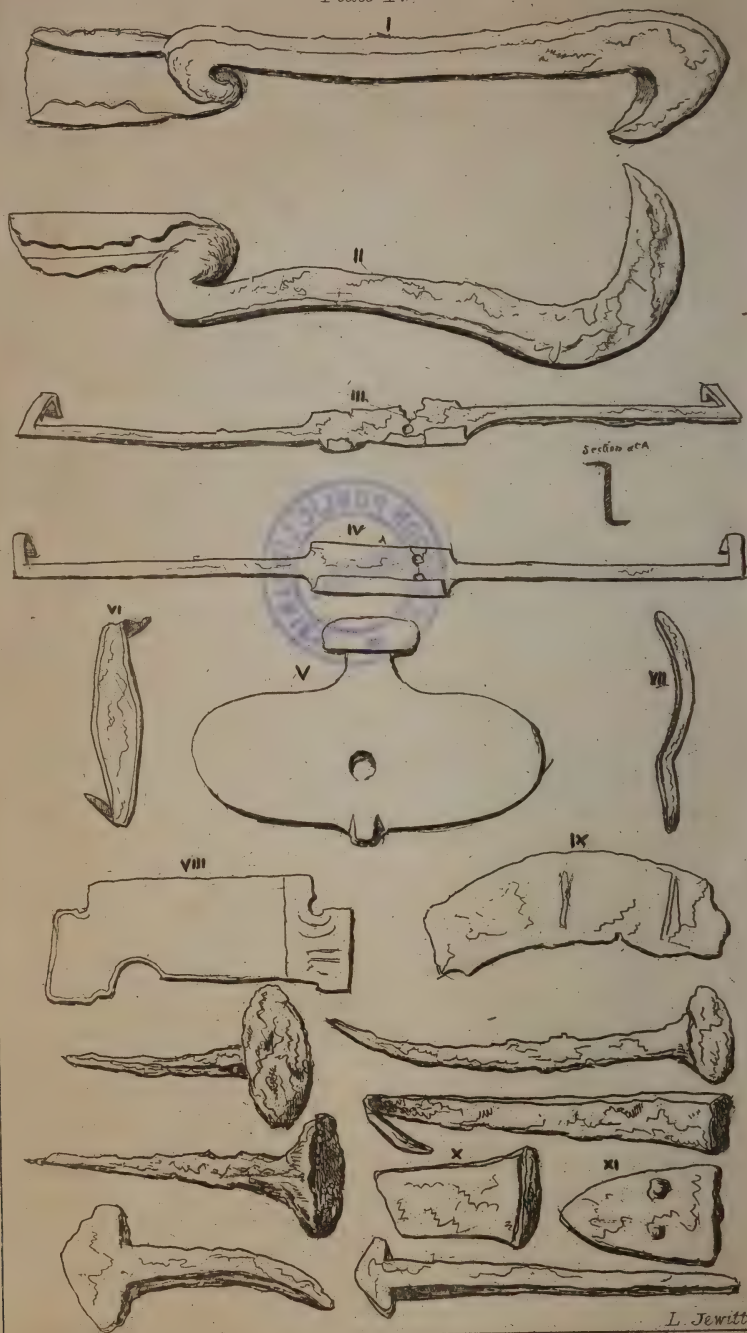
two others, three inches and a half in diameter, of apparently much later manufacture; there are also specimens in the Colchester Museum.²

¹ Mr. C. Roach Smith has suggested, that this might have been the boss of a coffer, or small wooden chest.

² As the subject of bells is one of great interest, it is hoped that particulars of their discovery may be for-



Plate IV.



A small leaden weight or plummet (fig. 2), with an iron loop, was also found: it was much corroded, and was burst on one side. It is here given of the full size.

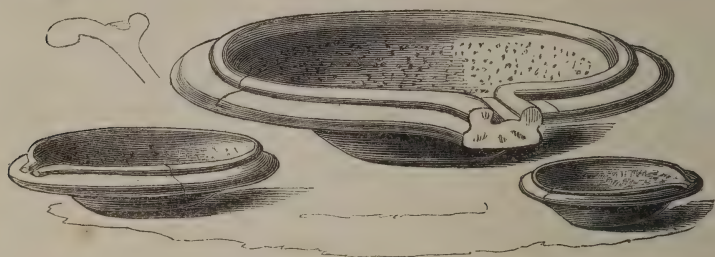
Half of a bronze clasp (plate iv, fig. v), of somewhat analogous character to others found at Wroxeter, was discovered; as was also part of a bronze fibula (plate iv, fig. vii), and some thin plates of brass (figs. viii and ix). A large number of iron nails were also found in various parts of the building, varying considerably in form, and being from an inch and a half to six inches and a quarter in length. The round heads of some of the nails are flat, and of more than an inch in diameter, and some of them have heads of similar form to the common nails of the present day. Half a dozen examples are given in plate iv.

An iron wedge, which had been much used (plate iv, fig. x), some bars of iron pierced with holes, for rivets or nails, and others solid, and some bolts, as well as a ring of the same metal, were also found.

The whole of the pottery found during the excavations was, with one or two exceptions, broken; and the vessels which are represented in the engravings are restored from the remaining portions. The fragments dug up in the small portion of the field which was opened would have filled a cart, and the material and form were extremely varied, comprising almost all the known varieties of Roman pottery. The most remarkable feature in the collection is the immense assemblage of the *débris* of those vessels, known as *mortaria*, portions of at least two hundred of these vessels having been found, varying in diameter from seven inches and a half to nearly two feet. Their form, and the material of which they are composed, differ considerably from any which are found in London, or indeed in any other locality which has yet come under my notice. They are principally formed of a fine clear clay, extremely hard and close in texture when compared with *mortaria* from other localities, and are of a light buff colour; but others are of a lead colour, of that peculiar tint which the late Mr. Artis showed to have been produced in a smother kiln.

warded. Bells of precisely similar shape have been ascertained to be of comparatively modern fabrication, whilst there is every reason for supposing others to be of Roman manufacture.

Others were of a fine red ware, but no fragments of Samian mortaria were found. The larger one, represented in the accompanying cut, is of the light buff colour, described

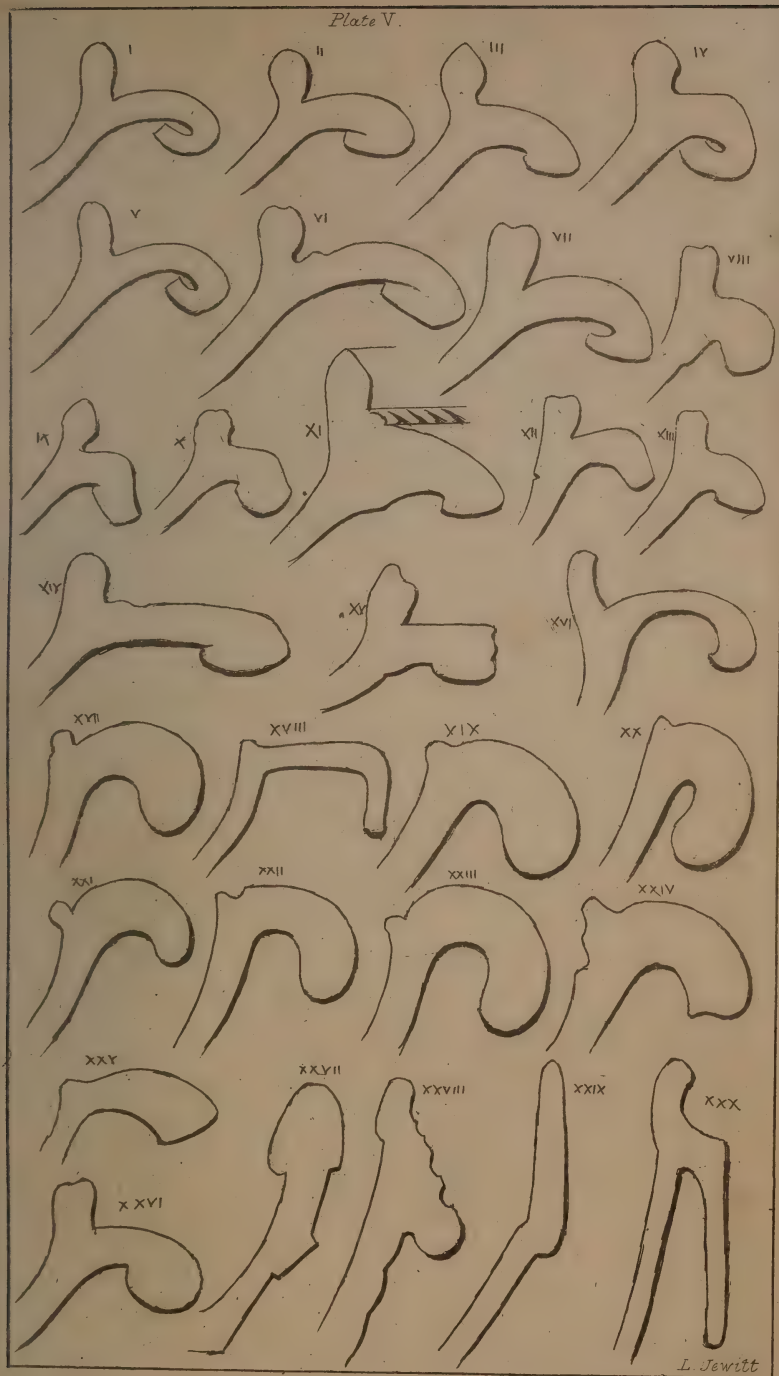


above. It is one foot nine inches in diameter; the rim and lip are two inches and a quarter wide; and the width of the spout, which is of a very remarkable form, is three inches and a quarter. The inside is thickly studded with broken quartz; and it is worthy of remark, that not one instance occurs, in the whole assemblage of mortaria, of any iron scoria being used. The smaller mortarium in the same engraving is seven inches and a half in diameter, and it appears to have been partially burned.

The mouldings of the mortaria, at Headington, are exceedingly dissimilar to the general form of the mouldings found in other localities. This will be seen on reference to plate v, where numbers i to xvi inclusive are from the Headington specimens, whilst the others are from various places. Numbers xvii and xviii are from Iffley, three miles from Headington; xix and xx are from London examples, in the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith; xxi is from Caerleon, which, with xxii from Usk, has been kindly forwarded to me by Mr. John Edward Lee, of Caerleon,¹ for the purpose of comparison; xxiii is from a London fragment, for which, with several other excellent examples, I am indebted to my friend Mr. E. B. Price; xxiv is also from a London example, in the collection of Mr. Chaffers; xxv is from Castor; and xxvi, which approaches very nearly to the Headington specimens, was found during excavations at Keston, in Kent, by Mr. T. Crofton Croker,

¹ In whose recent work, "Observations on a Roman Building and other remains, recently discovered at Caerleon" (8vo.), is an engraving of a Samian mortarium, with a perforated lion's head.

Plate V.



in whose collection it is preserved ; No. xxvii is from Botolph Lane, London, which, with the Samian mortarium, No. xxx, is in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection ; No. xxviii is a lead-coloured example, with iron scoriæ, found in London, and forwarded to me with the Samian variety (xxix) by Mr. Price. The sections have been selected as showing the most common varieties from the places referred to, and it may be observed that the examples from Hartlip, from Colchester, and other places, all appear to partake of the general character of those of Nos. xvii, xix, xxii, and xxiii. It is particularly worthy of remark, that although potters' stamps occur on the rims of mortaria, in all parts of the country, where the usual thick-lipped varieties are found, not one stamp has been met with on the rims of any of the vessels found at Headington. The rims are mostly of a particularly elegant section, and have been formed by overlapping the edge, whilst the clay was in the lathe, as shown in the beautiful section marked i, the overlapping in many instances leaving the rim hollow, as in i, iv, and v. Comparison of specimens from various localities may assist us in appropriating the varieties to the potteries where they were manufactured, and it is in the hope of calling forth notices and observations on the subject of *sections* that the present examples have been given. If a collection of the rims themselves, from all parts of the country, could be made, and arranged together, we should then be enabled to localise them at a glance ; but such a desideratum is not likely to be acquired. We must, therefore, content ourselves with whatever notes we can procure of the characteristics of specimens, which may at various times be found.

Potters' kilns have, at various times, been uncovered in England, and have been attended with the most satisfactory and important results, in enabling us to fix with certainty upon the very spot where certain descriptions of pottery were made ; and there is little doubt that, with proper attention on the part of excavators, many other facts tending to prove the existence of certain patterns and forms in particular manufactories, might be brought to light ; and we might ultimately be able to arrive at a correct conclusion regarding the state of the fictile arts in our own country, and to fix definitely on the localities where many

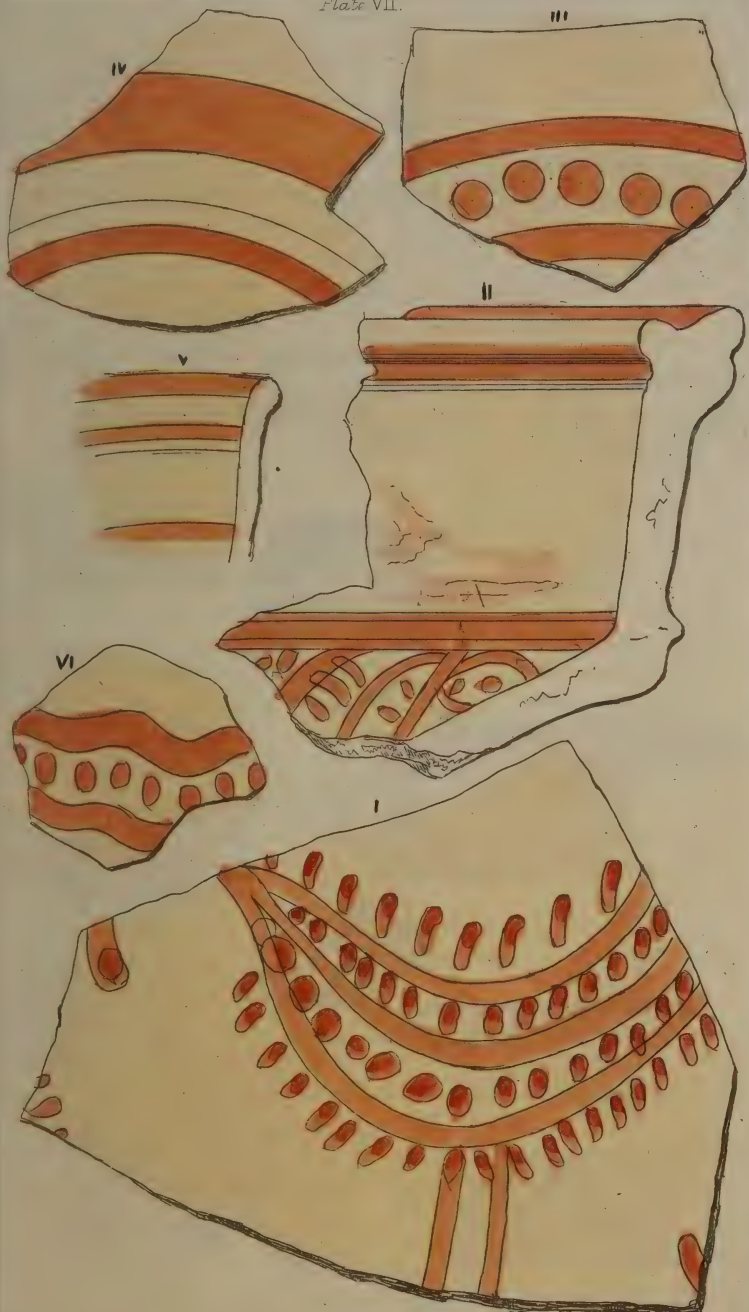
of those beautiful productions of former ages, which have hitherto been believed to have been of foreign fabrication, have been produced in England.

Two kilns have been discovered of late years in the neighbourhood of Headington; one at Shotover, the other at Fencot, on Otmoor; and it is much to be regretted that no particulars have been preserved of the *débris* of pottery found in them. There appears every probability of a kiln having existed in the fields where the remains now described were discovered; and I have little doubt that future excavations will prove that a pottery of no inconsiderable extent had existed on the spot. Large quantities of partially burned clay, masses of "crossilled" earth, and portions of vitrified flooring, as from a kiln, have already been found, and a considerable quantity of lumps of chalk, which must have been brought from a distance, has also been dug up. The discovery of the mould before described, would also tend to show that a pottery probably existed in the neighbourhood.

Amongst the fragments of Samian ware found, were two pieces of embossed: on one of which was the well-known festoon and tassel ornament, but of a somewhat different variety from those given by Mr. C. R. Smith, in vol. iv of the *Journal*; the other is ornamented with a festoon of foliage and a bird (plate vi, figs. II, III). There were also portions of patera of elegant form, and of many other vessels. One of the fragments had the letters AVL cut through the glaze on its under surface.

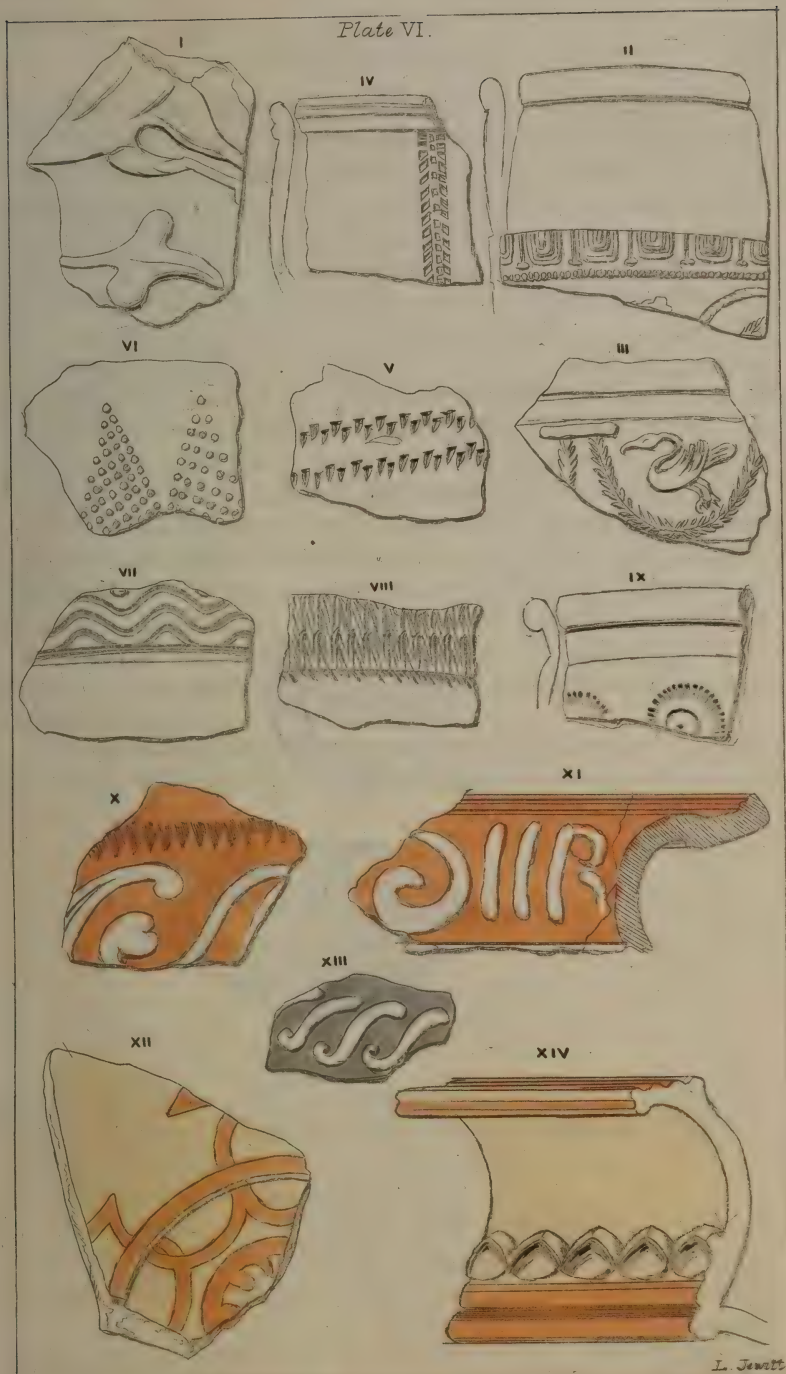
Of the cups with hunting pattern, as described in vol. i, page 7, of the *Journal*, only one portion was found (pl. vi, fig. 1), containing a part of the body and the hind legs of a dog, and also the ivy leaf beneath. The body of which the vessel is composed, is a fine white clay; the surface nearly black. The other fragments represented on pl. vi, are—No. iv, of red ware; the stamped pattern impressed into its surface is different from any which has come under my notice from other localities.¹ The same remark will apply to No. v; No. vi appears to be somewhat similar to

¹ Mr. C. R. Smith says, in reference to this, and to Nos. v, vii, xii, and xiv, on the same plate, that their patterns are quite new to him; it may be well to observe, with reference to No. iv, that the whole pattern has apparently been on one stamp, not each puncture indented separately, as in No. v.



L. Jewitt.



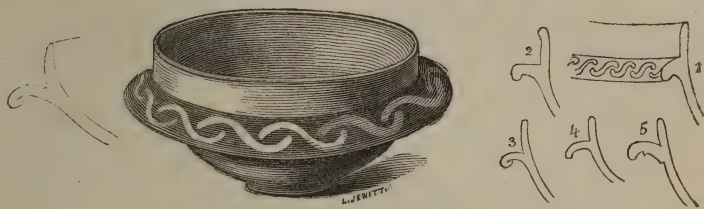


L. Jewett



examples from Upchurch; No. VII is of a stone colour, and has the waved lines indented; No. VIII, a variety of engine-turned pattern; No. IX, is of red ware, with the pattern pressed in. This pattern is of very great rarity; the only examples of its occurrence, of which I am aware, being at Richborough and the present specimen. Nos. X and XI are red, with the pattern in white slips, as described by Mr. Artis; XIII has been coloured black, and then the white slip applied; XII is of a buff colour, with the pattern *painted* upon it in red. Several examples of this kind of ware have been found at Headington; and the rev. J. Wilson has specimens found at Woodperry, in the same neighbourhood; XIV, is of the same kind of ware, of an elegant form, with a raised pattern running round its lower edge; and another example is given on pl. VII, figs. I and II, where, on the bottom of a vessel, is the rude representation of a cock, painted in red on the buff ground, as before. The head of the bird is shewn on fig. II. Figs. III, IV, V, and VI, on the same plate, are farther examples of the same variety of pottery.

The accompanying engraving exhibits a vessel of fine red ware, with the rim painted black, on which the white



scrolls are laid. On the same cut, sections of other vessels of the same shape are given for comparison: 1, is red, with white pattern; 2, is a fine red ware; 3, has a metallic surface; and 4 and 5, are Samian.

The fragments from which this vessel (see fig. 1, next page) has been drawn are of a chocolate colour; it is ornamented with an indented pattern of lines of squares, alternating with flat circles. It appears to be of the greatest rarity, and the pattern is new to Mr. C. Roach Smith. It appears to have been six inches and three quarters in height, and five inches and a quarter in diameter. The

next vessel (fig. 2) has been five inches and three quarters high, and its diameter five inches; it is of a very fine blue-gray clay, of the hardest and closest texture. The sides are indented, and the vessel is particularly

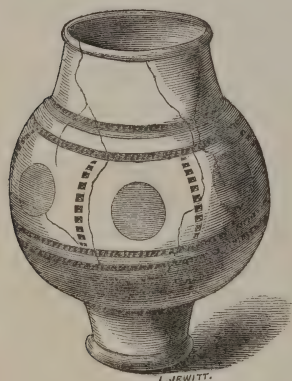


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

thin and light. Fragments of many other vases of similar form, but different material, were also found; and I am informed that others have been found at Islip.¹ The small vessel on the same engraving is of stone-colour, and is three inches and three quarters in height, and one inch and seven-eighths in width at the mouth. It was perfect when found, and is in the possession of Mr. Tagg, of Elsfeld.

The vessels here shown are formed of a fine black clay



¹ Since this was written, I have received intimation of similar vessels being recently found at Allchester, by

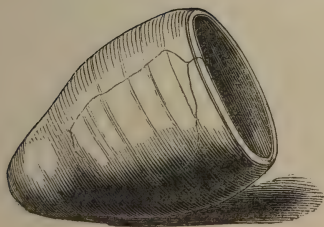
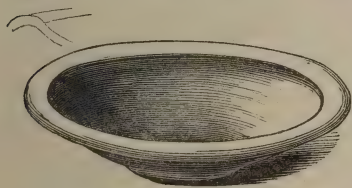
the rev. W. L. Brown, who has kindly forwarded me drawings of them, which will be noticed in a future Journal.

mixed with sand; they are many of them beautifully formed, and are ornamented with surface lines traced on the soft clay without indentation. Fragments of upwards of forty vessels of this material were found.

The two vessels here given, are of a fine red ware; the taller one has had a surface coating of red, laid over the general body of which it is formed, and has had a handle; the smaller one is five inches and a half in diameter at the top.



The form of the next example is very similar to some of the ordinary soup plates of the present day. It is of a coarse red ware, and with a broad rim, as shewn in the section. It is ten inches and a half in diameter, and three-tenths of an inch thick. The fragments of this pot were found at various times, extending over a fortnight, of the excavations, and in different fields.



Of vessels of the next form given, three or four perfect ones, and the fragments of upwards of twenty others, have been found. The one here shewn is four inches and a half in height, and three inches and a half in diameter at the mouth. It is of a coarse stone-coloured ware, and has apparently been burned on one side.

In the next engraving, No. 2 is of red ware, nine inches in diameter at the mouth, and eight inches in height. Fragments of many similar vessels were found, some of

them of a blue-gray colour outside, and white within. Nos. 6 and 7 are black clay, with sand and broken shells, and



are ornamented with the usual diamond pattern; Nos. 4 and 5, fine red ware, basin-shaped, seven inches and a quarter in diameter; No. 4 has an engine-turned pattern round the bottom in the inside; No. 3 is red, nine inches in diameter at the top, and six inches in height; No. 8 is of a hard stone-coloured ware, nine inches and a half in diameter, and two inches high; No. 9 is a Samian patera.

Some interesting fragments of small cups, of the form here shewn, were found; they are extremely light, and some of red, and others of chocolate colour; the rim and upper part of the vessels are smooth, the lower rough, being covered with little points. The one here engraved is three inches and



a quarter in diameter.

The three elegant vessels, here shewn, are of the kind described by Mr. Artis, as being formed with slips, and at the kilns near Castor, in Northamptonshire. The centre one is of a fine deep-blue colour, with engine-turned lines, and is ornamented with an elegant foliated ornament in white; this vessel, as well as the other

two, was apparently perfect, but broken into small pieces by the workmen, and many pieces lost. The cup to the left has a fine metallic surface of a silvery colour,



with a pattern in white of circles and lines alternating; the one on the right is formed of a remarkably fine red body, approaching in texture and hardness to the Samian: it has engine-turned lines, and is ornamented with ivy-leaves, very similar to those commonly found on the rims of Samian vessels; the vessel has been covered with a fine metallic glaze of a greenish tint. This vessel, from its pattern and material, is of great interest; and Mr. C. R. Smith says, that cups of this description are of the highest rarity. It is much to be regretted that portions only are remaining.



The accompanying vessel is of stone-coloured ware, two inches and three-quarters in height.

The neck of a vessel, of very singular form, of a fine stone-coloured ware, is also here given.

Many other varieties of pottery, besides those above described, have been found; but the examples given will serve to show the extensive character of the accumulation of fictile remains which were discovered in excavating. One farther variety, however, remains to be noticed, viz., the *green* glazed ware, many fragments of which were found. It is to be regretted, however, that many valuable and rare specimens were lost, through the ignorant presumption of the tenant of the ground.



The coins found are of Helena, Tetricus pater, Tetricus jun., Constantine jun., Probus, Postumus, Constantius Chlorus, Constans, Gratian, etc.¹

Among the potters' stamps, the first here given appears to be new; another has RUFIA; another ALBIN F; and a fourth has AIIISTIVI·M.



Fig. 1.

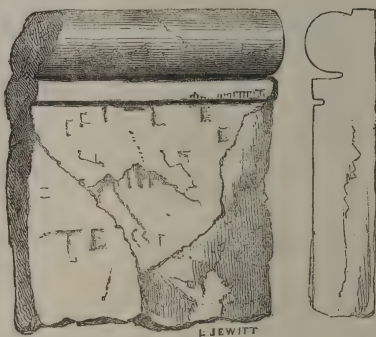
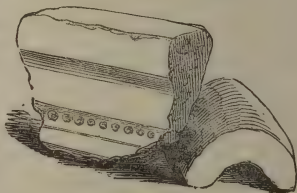


Fig. 2.

A stone (fig. 2), which had evident remains of an inscription upon it, and the upper edge of which was moulded, as shewn in the engraving, was found lying with several other sandstones; one of which, three inches and a half thick, was nearly semicircular, with diagonal lines cut in on both sides, as shewn in the engraving (fig. 1).

In the room before described as D in the plan, in addition to the plaister moulding, as of a cornice, ornamented with a beaded cavetto, were found several other fragments of plaister, and specimens of distemper colouring, in various parts of the remains; some of a bright red, others green, and one fragment was white, with a foliated line of green alternating with one of red.

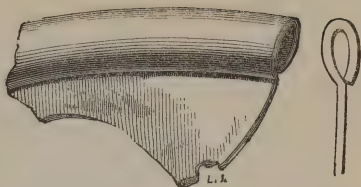


Fragments of window glass were also met with, of excellent quality; some of the pieces were one-tenth of an inch thick, and others one-eighth of an inch. Some of

¹ The rev. J. Wilson informs me, that a coin has lately been picked up, which he believes to be of Augustus.

these fragments were found at the depth of five feet below the surface, and level with the bottom of the foundations, so that there can be no doubt of their being of Roman origin.¹ A part of the rim of a

thin light-green glass vessel of elegant form was also found, as shewn in the accompanying engraving. The overlapping portion of the rim is hollow.



Besides the flue-tile, before mentioned (p. 55), fragments of several others, of different patterns, were found; as were also curved tiles (as shewn in the same engraving), drain tiles, and a large quantity of stone roofing slates, of the kind still used in the neighbourhood, from the old quarries at Stonesfield: these slates had each a hole in one corner for fastening, so that the roof would be covered lozenge-wise.

Besides the relics already described, a whetstone, part of a stone pestle, stags' horns of large dimensions, bones of the red deer, etc.; skulls of oxen, sheep, and goats; a considerable quantity of oyster-shells, and the shells of the snail, so often found in Roman remains, and portions of two human skulls, were dug up.

I cannot close this account of the important and interesting discoveries which have been made, without expressing my extreme regret, that selfishness, arrogance, and ignorant presumption, should at any time so far interfere with the proper progress of archæological research, as they have done in the present instance. Many relics of the greatest interest were broken up, dispersed, and lost; and others, which, after being offered for sale by the tenant of the Headington field, at last, much injured, found their way into the hands of his landlord, have met with even a worse fate there.

¹ In the "Collectanea Antiqua", fragment of window glass, from Hartvol. ii, pl. ix, Mr. Smith has figured a lip, in Kent.

ON THE SYMBOLICAL CHARACTER OF ALEPH AND TAU, OR THAU.

BY THE REV. THOMAS JESSOP, D.D., VICAR OF WIGHILL, YORKSHIRE.

IN the generality of phonetic, or alphabetical systems, aleph (א) is the first letter, and frequently tau (ת) the last. From the extreme position of these letters appears to have arisen their somewhat hieroglyphical significancy. They are considered emblematical, not only of the beginning and the end, but also of the total or sum of a system. The Rabbins denoted primordial matter by a term compounded of aleph and tau (את). Moreover, they say that Adam sinned, from aleph to tau (מא ועד ת), i.e. *against the whole law*. The names of these letters are also characteristic of their position, and seem to countenance their figurative application. In the Phœnician, and some other tongues, the word aleph signifies *taurus*, or *bos*. Also, generally, a *chief*, or *leader*. The word tau imports a terminus, limit, or boundary; and from a cognate verb it denotes a mark, or sign. Hence the tau is placed appropriately, as the *final* symbol of the elementary sounds. There it stands, at once a *glyphic* and a phonic character. In the alphabets of Greece and Rome, tau (though not the final letter) is the last simple consonant; for the letters succeeding it are vowels, or double consonants, the elements of which precede the tau. In figurative application, however, the Greek is in symbolism with the Hebrew, etc. Its Αω (I breathe) is expressive of vitality, and may remind us of HIM who is the alpha and omega—of HIM “in whom we live and move and have our being”. Aleph and tau, alpha and omega, being the leaders and termini of their respective systems, were deemed of old symbolical of the whole compass of language. Bounding and including all their intermediates, they stood as *representing* them, and were deemed expressive of universality—of the beginning, course, and end of the system. Long before the Christian era, the symbols aleph and tau were employed in the mythologies of Egypt; and as the worship of the bull has always been a prominent feature in the idolatries of the

east, the type aleph (Ⲁ) appears to have been *generally* recognized as the symbol of Apis, or Serapis. By the Egyptians and the Gnostics, who imitated them, it was employed as the monogram of the deity. Hence, in Coptic antiques and Gnostic memorials, we have satisfactory elucidation of some of the ancient mysteries—a knowledge of which will enable us to explain such inscriptions as appear of a more recondite character. We learn from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and others, that the Egyptian priests celebrated their gods by chaunting the seven vocalic sounds: namely, α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω. Now the Gnostics imitated this: they accepted the type Apis as an emblem of Christ, and accompanied the sign or monogram with some part of the vocalic chaunt. Many gems, metal plates, and amulets, now extant, exemplify this. The full chaunt required the whole seven: the monadic, one vowel; the triadic, three; and the tetractyc four. These were, however, rather subtleties of the Gnostics, than of the Egyptians. Aleph was (as a monogram) frequently associated with Coptic or Greek uncials. A seal, or amulet, in brass, of some antiquity (though probably only a copy of some genuine antique) exhibits on its two matrices the head of Apis.

On the larger face is inscribed the legend

+ Ⲁ. TO ONN NI CION O. OIE. That is:—

+ Aleph. Τὸ Ὄνομα αἰ Σιών. Ὁ, ω, ι, ε. That

is, + Aleph (Sarapis), the name ever divine:

the celebrated! Here we have, first, the epochal cross; then aleph, the symbol of Apis; then a contraction for τὸ ὄνομα.

Next αἰ, Æolicè for αἰ; then Σιών for θεῖον (Σιὸς being put

Doricè, *vel* Laconicè, for θεῖος). Lastly, an emphatic triadic

chaunt—the ω, ι, ε, or ω, ι, η. The inscription, therefore, may

be thus expressed:—+ Ⲁ Τὸ Ὄνομα αἰ θεῖον. Ὁ, ω, ι, η, or ω, ι, ε.

i. e., + Sarapis, the name ever divine—the Trisagion.

Remark. After much consideration I incline to pro-

nounce this amulet *Gnostic*, rather than *Coptic*. The aleph

thrice expressed denotes the *abstract*, the *concrete* (or attri-

bital), and the sempiternal character of the deity. As to

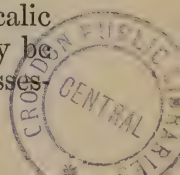
the three vowels, preceded by the article, they agree indeed

in *number*, with the above distinction, but must be con-

sidered merely as an adapted portion of the vocalic

chaunt. Some elucidation of this view may probably be

supplied by the description of a seal, once in the posses-



sion of sir William Jones, and now the property of Miss Milner (of Nun Appleton), to whose courtesy I am indebted for an impression. This seal, on a cornelian, bears the human-formed head of Sarapis, with the usual *cālāthus*. The legend in Greek uncials, of square form, is "Μέγα τὸ Ὄνομα ἰ ο υ Σάραπις, *i. e.* the great name *i o u* Sarapis; or, hail ! Serapis. This



seal, bearing the figure of a human head, is of course *not* attributable to the Gnostics.

The Gnostics seem to have borrowed largely from the Pythagoreans. Much of their doctrine is a jumble of Coptic mysticism, Platonism, and Christianity; and their fancies strikingly resemble the cabalistic reveries of the Jews.

The name SARAPIS (which, though anterior to the Christian era, is comparatively modern) consists of *seven* letters, answering to the number of the vocalic chaunt. Eusebius, in his *Præparat. Evang.* (lib. ii) quotes from some unknown author the following:

Ἑπτα με φωνήεντα Θεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον αἰνεῖ—
Γράμματα τῶν πάντων ἀκάματον Πατέρα.
Εἶμι δ' ἔγω πάντων χελὺς ἄφθιτος ἢ τὰ λυρῶδη—
Ἑρμασάμην δίνης οὐρανίῳ μέλη.

That is—

“Seven vocal letters—Laud me, God, imperishable, great.
Father of all—unwearied.

I am th' immortal lyre, which hymns all nature's harmony—
I tun'd the melodies of rolling spheres.”

These lines have been applied by some to the sacred Tetragrammaton (יהוה), as increased by its three vowel points to seven. As authorities for what has been thus far said, I may refer to Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*), Diog. Laert. Macrobius (*Saturnalia*), Bochart, Bryant, Gale, etc. etc.

Secondly. As to the tau, its figure—as in the ancient Hebrew (now the Samaritan)—is usually cruciform. This form was naturally, and perhaps conveniently, adopted to symbolize the import of its name—a *mark*, or *limit*. By the ancients, especially the Egyptians, it was employed to designate—

1. An ordinary mark, or epochal limit.

2. A sign of infamy and death by the cross.

3. A sacred and recondite mystery.

First. By a terminal cross the Egyptians are said to have marked the extent of the Nile's inundation. With a cross the Egyptians branded their camels and horses on the neck, or thigh. The money of the Phœnicians and others, among whom may be named the Maccabees, often bore this sign; and the limbless Hermæ, of the Romans, were sometimes placed at cross-roads.

Secondly. The cross being, of old, the form of an instrument of death, was considered the emblem of reproach and infamy. Thus the early Christians were upbraided as the followers of the "crucified One". But this tau, of infamy, was—

Thirdly, The symbol of Egypt's holiest mystery. τ, though resembling an instrument of death, was opposed to theta (θ, or θ), and regarded as the symbol of freedom, of hope, and of life. In Ezekiel, c. ix, ver. 4, we read "and set a mark upon their foreheads". The margin, more literally, "mark a mark". From the Hebrew (תו על מצחית) the 70 render "καὶ δὸς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα", and give (or place) a sign upon the foreheads. But Aquila and Theodotion translate not the word *thau*, but give it as the name of the symbol of life. (Σημειώσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα), i.e. Thou shalt make the mark (or sign) of thau upon the foreheads (*Origenis Hexap. etc.*). To the same effect, Jerome—"Et signa thau super frontes". Tertullian determines this to be the sign of the cross. "Scribe signum tau in frontibus—*nempe signum crucis*".

In the *Archæological Journal* (No. II. pp. 169-176), is an interesting notice of a stained glass window in the cathedral at Bourges, in the thirteenth compartment of which, the paschal sacrifice is represented; a figure is marking the door-posts, and the words "Scribe tau" are on the glass. To suppose, as admitted by this writer (p. 173), that the mark placed by the Israelites on their doors was in the form of a cross, is perhaps too much. Yet, the designer of this emblem seems to have had in view the Latin version of Ezekiel (c. ix, ver. 3, 4), and possibly the words of Tertullian, cited above. Hence, with much elegance, he has alluded to the tau, or cross, as the *sign* of life. "Scribe tau", therefore, is equivalent to "sprinkle

blood, etc''. Blood was shed as an atonement, and in blood is *physically* the *life* of an animal: whence the paschal blood was to Israel the sign of *life*, *redemption*, and *peace*. To proceed—tau, the sign of life, was represented variously. The crux decussata (×), intromissa (+), commissa (⊥), and ansata (⌘), which last is the astronomical symbol of Venus. See Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. ii, 456, where Hera, the Assyrian Venus, is represented holding a winged tau ansata in her hand. See also the same writer, vol. ii, p. 213, note. The tau ansata was also devoted to the younger Horus. In Bryant, vol. ii, p. 398, Horus is depicted as holding the crux ansata. This figure, also, was a symbol of Hermes (⌘)—hence termed the Hermetic cross. This Hermes (not to speak of Hermes Trismegistus) is identified by Eusebius with $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\theta$, $\Theta\omega\nu\theta$, Theuth, Thouth, Thoth, Taut, etc. of the Egyptians. See also Plato's *Philebus*. And Suidas, *in verb.* The tau ansata, or Hermetic cross, has long been the subject of contemplation and research, respectively to the mystic and the antiquary. Of each the view is abstract, and therefore *pure*. *The concrete is all sensualism*. As to the form and application of the tau ansata, consult Lajard, Denon, etc. In this abstract I enter not into special proofs, yet I am prepared to show that the Assyrians, Medians, Persians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, and even Scandinavians, adopted the tau as an emblem of some divine person, or sacred mystery. In this form the Scandinavian *Thor* was fashioned, in connexion with the two similar representations. Early in the Christian era, the temple of Apis, in Egypt, was destroyed, and certain cruciform characters on stone were brought to light. Some prediction was brought forward by the Coptic priests, to the effect that when these cruciforms appeared, they would symbolize a pure system, denoting more clearly, than of old, revivification, or life to come. These emblems, it is said, were claimed, both by Christians and Pagans, as symbols of their respective creeds. The former looked forward to the triumph of their faith, the latter to the renewed establishment of their ancient system.—See Socrates, *Scholast.* Sozom. Ruffin, etc.

Lastly. "Before the day of Christ, the tau has been considered predictive; *now* it stands a solemn record."

ON THE DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS, NEAR TOWCESTER, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

BY EDWARD PRETTY, ESQ.

IN the early part of last year, some workmen employed by his grace the duke of Grafton, in Whittlebury forest, had occasion for some stone for the purpose of repairs. In a part of the forest, called Holton Coppice, they appear to have observed that stones protruded from the soil, although not in a situation where such a material would exist naturally. The men dug up and carried away a considerable number of these stones, which had evidently been hewn, without having their curiosity excited, until at length they arrived at a mosaic pavement, of which the accompanying plate will afford a better idea than any verbal description.¹ The duke of Grafton was not in Northamptonshire at the time, and the men very properly desisted from pursuing their excavations further, until they should have an opportunity of receiving instructions from his grace. Ultimately the pavement was wholly cleared and the excavations continued, disclosing the foundations of a building of considerable extent, probably the villa of some officer connected with the military occupancy of *Lactodurum* (Towcester), from which it is distant about three and a half miles. The ground part of the building, so far as it has at present been exposed, includes, in addition to the room floored with the tessellated pavement, six other rooms, exclusive of a bath and hypocaust. The pavement room measures nine feet six inches by fifteen feet: a doorway leads into another room westward, fifteen feet square. Still further west is a third room. To the left, or south of the pavement-room, is another apartment, thirteen feet by ten. The bath adjoins this room southward, and still farther south is the hypocaust. On the right, or north of the pavement-room, is an apartment, ten feet six inches by fifteen feet, from which a narrow doorway opens west—a site which has not hitherto been explored. Between forty and fifty yards north-east of this building appear the foundations of another structure, probably connected with the

¹ This plate will appear in the next *Journal*.

first. It faces the south-west, and is entered by a porch-way, containing a mosaic pavement, six feet two inches square. The pattern consists of a guilloche border, of red, white, brown, and blue tesserae, within which is a pattern of red crosses, *coupé*, within squares or frets of red and grey, or blue tesserae. Within the building another pavement presents itself, five feet square, consisting of squares divided by double lines of inch-square red tesserae, and four white tesserae at each intersection. Long passages extend right and left, and this portion of the building measures sixty-three feet and a half by thirty feet. Foundations extend to the north-west, which have not yet been fully cleared out, but the extreme length of the building in this direction is above ninety feet.

Reverting to the building first-mentioned, it is necessary to state that a skeleton was discovered on the floor of the pavement-room, another near the entrance of the adjoining apartment, and a third in the room still farther west. In the room south of the pavement-room were two skeletons—one lying with the head to the west, the other to the north. In the bath was found the skeleton of a person about five feet ten or six feet in height, lying across the entrance; and at a short distance in the passage, the skeleton of a youth, of not more than ten years of age. In a room adjoining were the skeletons of a child and a dog. Some flue tiles and charcoal were found in one of the westerly rooms. The number and distribution of the human remains may be taken as evidence that the inhabitants were destroyed by some sudden calamity, by which also the building was demolished.

The neighbourhood abounds in evidences of Roman occupation. I have already described, in the second volume of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (pages 353-6), the Roman remains discovered on the borders of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, with the Roman roads in the locality; and the account may be usefully referred to in connexion with the present discovery. The buildings are within the parish of Whittlebury, and about a quarter of a mile west of the Watling-street. The village church, near which Roman antiquities have been found, stands nearly three miles west. I have already stated that the site of the buildings is known as Holton (query, old-town) Coppice. The situation is well chosen, between two val-

leys, on a somewhat elevated ground. The locality is known as "the gullet". The northern hollow has a little stream passing through it, which, to judge from the appearance of high banks across the valley, at an earlier age was dammed towards Plumpton, for the service of a mill, for the use of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. If such a mill existed, it was at a time of remote antiquity, for the only two mills mentioned in *Domesday Book* are described by Baker as still existing at Cuttle Mill and Twitchett's Mill. In the valley to the south is a stream (which probably originated the name of "the gullet"), feeding an extensive fish-pond, called Bradlam pond, which is not unlikely to have been an appendage to the villa forming the subject of this paper. It is kept up by a dam, over which a road passes towards Wakefield. South of this valley is a wood, called King's Wood. Assuming the present coppice ground to have been anciently clear of wood (and no mention of the forest occurs in *Domesday*), the Brick hills would have been visible from this place; and a communication might have been maintained by signal with the station at Magiovintum, near Fenny Stratford. It is a singular circumstance, that the Roman road from Bicester, which comes up in a direct line through Stowe Park, and which appears to have been left unfinished on the east side, would, if continued, have passed near Honey Hill farm, straight through the forest, by the villa in Holton copse, where it would have reached another Honey hill in its way by Alderton Bury, through Hartwell, crossing the Port-way in Salcey forest, by the Stoneway copse, in which is an ancient paved way, and pursuing its final course to Irchester, near Wellingborough.

The relics found at the villa hitherto are but few. Various fragments of native pottery; very little Samian ware, including the fragments of a bowl-shaped ornamented vessel; fragments of thin white glass pateras, the bottom of a glass cinerary urn, the fragment of a handle of a glass *præfericulum*; three stone weights, found in and adjoining the bath; a pair of scissors, or shears; a knife, iron stanchions and nails; an ivory style, or pin; a columnar base; fragments of querns; and a few coins of the lower empire. For more minute particulars of all these, we shall wait until the excavations have been still further pursued. The intro-

duction of the Christian emblem of the cross of Constantine, in the second pavement, is remarkable, and possibly indicates that this portion of the building was constructed subsequent to the time of that emperor. The pavement recently discovered at Harpole has also the Greek cross in its centre.

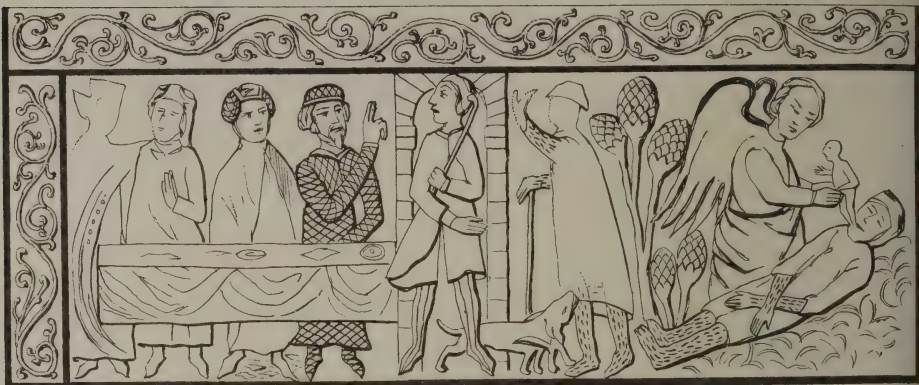
Since the above description was in type, the excavations have advanced, and disclosed many extensive foundations east of the villa, and adjoining the riding. Immediately under the wall on the east side was found an urn about eighteen inches high, of a dark grey earthenware. It was covered with a flat stone.

COMMUNICATION OF DISCOVERIES OF MEDIEVAL PAINTINGS, ETC.

BY FRANCIS BAIGENT, ESQ.; EDITED BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ.

DURING the past year, many interesting discoveries have been communicated to us by Mr. Francis Baigent, our active correspondent at Winchester. The discoveries in question have been chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of that city, and other churches in the county, and the first in importance is that of Winchfield church, Hampshire. We will give the account, as near as possible, in Mr. Baigent's own words:—

Winchfield is situated about two miles from the town of Odiham, called in *Domesday Book* "Wenesflet", the manor at that time being held by the abbey of Chertsey. The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and originally consisted of a tower, nave, and chancel, with two transept-formed appendages, which gave it a cruciform shape, one of which answered for a porch. In the east end of the chancel is an early decorated window, of three lights, and in the wall has recently been brought to view an early English aumbry, of Purbeck marble. In both the north and south wall is a deeply-splayed Norman window, the jambs of which are ornamented with a zigzag or chevron moulding. Beneath the sill of a lancet window, in the north wall, a range of six stone steps commences, leading to a small opening in



Size of the Original 19 ft. 4 in. x 5 ft. 6 in.

From the South Wall of the Nave, Winchfield Church.

ARCH ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CHURCH AT LITTLE LANGFORD



West Wall of South Transept.

the wall of the chancel arch; this was, without doubt, the entrance to the rood-loft.

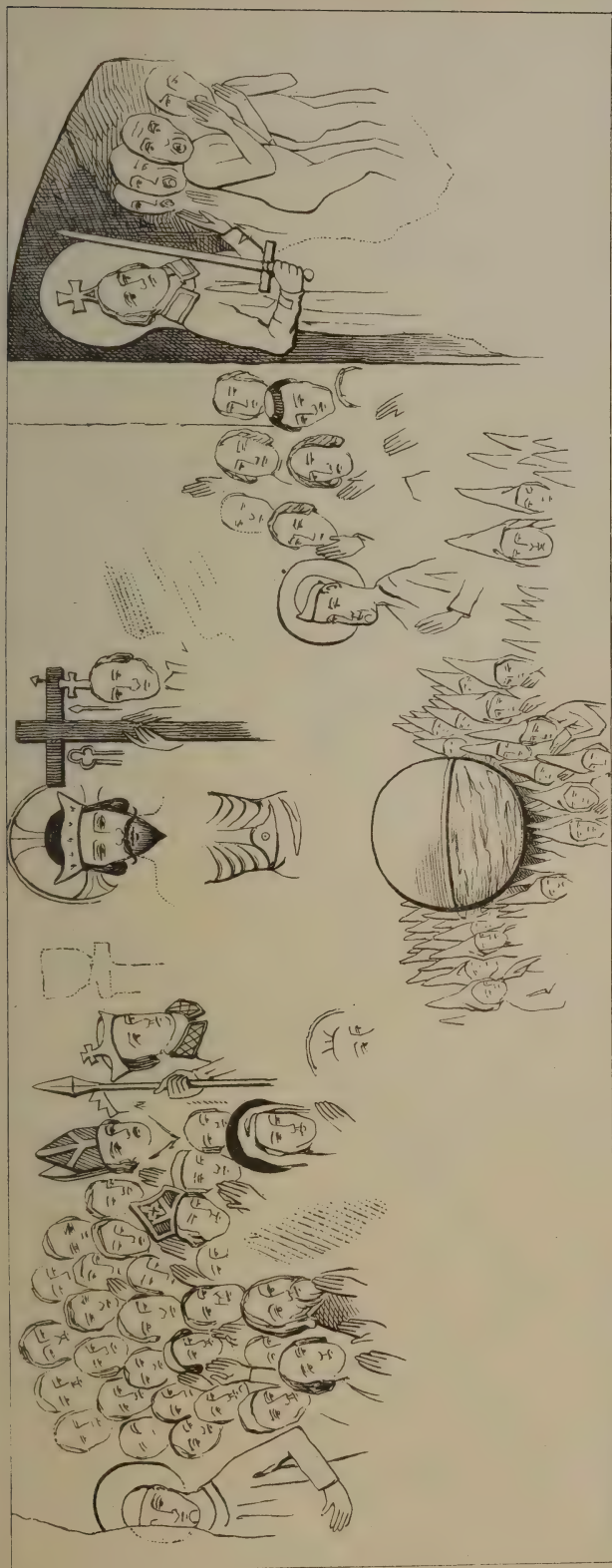
The chancel arch is a very elaborate specimen of late Norman, and is composed of three receding semicircular arches, ornamented with zigzag mouldings, and others of a different character, the archivolt being enriched with a kind of billet moulding; the zigzag is carried down the jambs, and the capitals are foliated. On either side of the chancel arch is a small squint, and on the south side of the nave an arched recess, one foot in depth, supposed to have been an altar. The soffit of the arch is ornamented with a scroll pattern, similar to that around paintings on the south wall, which will presently be noticed. To allow sufficient room for this recess, a portion of the nave wall has been cut away, forming as it were a second recess; and within this is painted the head of a queen. It is executed in the conventional style of the time, and is simply a broad red outline; the hair is long, and flows gracefully upon the shoulders: she holds a sceptre in her hand, the pattern of which is similar to what is frequently met with on encaustic tiles, and the date is about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The nave of this church bears evidence of its Norman origin, by the existence of some round-headed windows, on either side, and there is an early English doorway on the north side. The tower is at the west end, and is of Norman execution and of massive character.

The church being under restoration, led to the scraping of the walls, and thence to the discovery of paintings, which had once covered the whole of them. "When I first visited the church", says Mr. Baigent, "the only fragment remaining on the north wall was near the chancel arch: it appeared to represent 'Christ walking on the sea'. The figures were delineated with great spirit, and the folds of the drapery well cast, and bears strong resemblance to those I discovered in Winchester cathedral. On the south wall was the story of Lazarus and Dives, a favourite subject, illustrative of and in relation to the doctrine of the resurrection, and which is given in plate ix. Of this but one compartment was quite complete—it represented the rich man sitting at a table, habited in a chequered robe, with a coif of the same character; by his side are three ladies, and

he is giving directions to a serving man, in a dark-coloured dress, and holding a stick in his left hand. The beggar, Lazarus, is close by the portal, leaning on a staff, and asking alms: his limbs are spotted all over with disease, doubtless intended to represent the leprosy, and dogs are licking his sores. The serving man, or porter, seems as if he is being directed to drive away the importunate Lazarus. The compartment is completed by the decease of Lazarus, who, extended on the ground with his arms crossed, is in the act of death; and an angel receives his soul, which he is breathing forth under the form of a young child. The costume and accessories all point the date of this work to the thirteenth century; the head dresses of the ladies are varied, and at the feet of one are represented the crumbs of bread which have fallen from the table. The subject was continued on the adjoining part of the wall, but unfortunately, during the temporary absence of the clergyman for one day, it was ruthlessly destroyed by a labourer. It consisted of a venerable and majestic figure, nimbed and clothed in black, holding a naked child in his arms: this was Lazarus, in Abraham's bosom. The face of Abraham was impressive, and painted with great care; beneath this were flames, with evil spirits, and the lower part of the body of the rich man was visible. That portion of the subject which would precede this—the Death of the Rich man, was entirely gone.

The whole of the western wall, above the arch of the doorway, was decorated with the final doom, or Last Judgment (see pl. VIII). In the centre was represented our Saviour, wearing on his head a cap of maintenance, of crimson purple, turned up with ermine; his hair long and of a brown colour, and he has a pointed beard and moustachios: around his head is the crucial nimbus. But a small portion of this figure remains, but it appears to have been nude, and probably seated upon a rainbow. At the feet is the globe, divided by a zone: the lower part water, and beneath this figures in white shrouds. On the right of the Saviour, is the figure of an angel holding the lance, but the upper part alone remains, shewing the head with a coiffure, similar to that worn by Christ, with the addition, however, of a cross in the centre. On the opposite side are the other emblems of the passion—the cross, pincers, etc. borne by another angel,



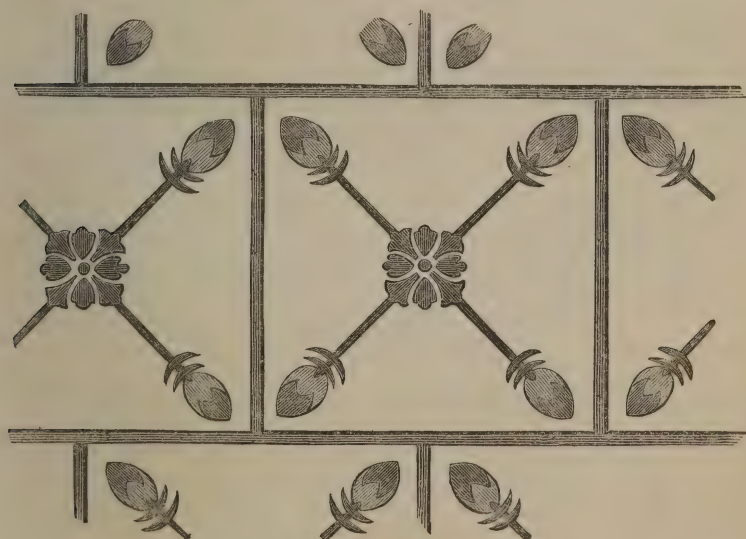
Size of original 14 ft 6 in. x 5 ft 6 in.

J. A. S. 1897.

From the West Wall of the Nave, Winchester Cathedral, Hants.



whose form is less distinctly preserved. Behind the angel holding the lance are a crowd of figures, among whom are two mitred heads: the forms of the mitres are varied, one being of an early character, such as was worn in the thirteenth century; the date of these paintings being the close of the fifteenth, this is a curious circumstance. Among this group is also the figure, the head however only remaining, of a female saint, with a dark brown nimbus. The left side of the Saviour is much defaced, but there still remains part of a figure, with a nimbus, which may probably be St. Francis; and amid a group behind him is a head, with the tonsure. Beyond this is an angel in white clothing, wearing an amice and alb, the head surmounted by a cross and surrounded by a fiery red nimbus, holding a sword in his right hand, whilst with the other he is thrusting forth a crowd of nude figures, with imploring and despairing countenances. This fragment, so exceedingly curious, as well as the other relating to the story of Lazarus, make us regret that when an opportunity occurs of uncovering any of these remains, more care and supervision is not employed. If this became a more common practice, we might expect much more information on the arrangement of paintings in our churches than we have hitherto been able to obtain.



The diapered pattern, given in the above cut, is taken

from the church of St. Cross, in the immediate vicinity of Winchester, and forms part of a decoration on the walls of a chapel, on the south side of the choir. There is very little doubt but that the whole of the walls of this church were richly decorated—indeed, the patterns of some of the ornaments can be traced through the thick overlaying of whitewash. Among some portions of coloured walls recently laid bare, Mr. Baigent has discovered the impress of a seal, repeated at intervals; it consisted of a representation of the crucifixion, with a legend around the margin, but which was not legible. This, without doubt, was an impress from the seal of the hospital, or at any rate contained the same design.

To the medieval sculpture, discovered at Stoke Charity, we have alluded in a former paper (see vol. v, p. 256). It was found in the wall between the chancel arch and the south wall of the nave, concealed in a niche, evidently hastily made for that purpose. When first found, the colouring of the whole was perfect, and had not sustained the least damage, save a portion of the base, which was broken away. The subject represented was St. Gregory's Mass, or St. Gregory's Pity, which forms a very favourite illustration to ancient missals, and the story of which is recorded in *The Golden Legend*. The sculpture measures forty-four inches in height, and nineteen inches in breadth, and is composed of a chalky material. It is gratifying to know that it will be preserved, and that for this we are indebted to the zeal of Mr. Baigent, whose active exertions merit the approbation of the Society.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 9, 1850.

MR. PETTIGREW communicated a paper on the antiquity and primitive form of our national instrument, the harp, by Charles Egan, esq., which was ordered to be read before the Association, and will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mrs. Forster, of Cheltenham, forwarded the impression of an ecclesiastical seal of the fifteenth century, belonging to Oswald Grimston, esq. It represents the Salutation, and has also the name MARIA inscribed on it.

Mr. Planché communicated the impression of a seal of the time of Edward I, belonging to Mr. Langton, of Manchester; respecting which inquiries were directed to be made, and will appear in the next *Journal*.

JANUARY 23.

Mr. Pretty, of Northampton, forwarded the drawing of a Roman pavement, recently discovered at Harpole, being the largest hitherto found in Northamptonshire. It will be noticed and illustrated in the next number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Frederick Chancellor exhibited a drawing of a Roman urn recently discovered in Chelmsford. It was found about four hundred yards from some excavations (there making, to display a Roman villa), in a gravel-pit, about four feet from the original surface of the land; it was not embedded in the gravel, but just upon the top of it. Within two or three yards of it, was likewise found a small silver coin of Claudius: reverse, a man on horseback, galloping. Mr. Chancellor learnt, that several portions of urns and vases had been found in the immediate vicinity of the diggings from time to time, as well as several coins. He was inclined to think, that, near where the urn was found, there must formerly have been a cemetery; as it is pretty certain the old Roman road went from Widford to Danbury; and a line on the map stretched from these points cuts the site where the urn was discovered. The urn (having nothing remarkable in its form) was perfect, with the exception of a small piece chipped out; far more perfect, indeed, than any pottery that has been discovered at the villa; it had been apparently very slightly burnt, and was of a dark-brown colour. When discovered, at the bottom of it, there was a small black lump, which had

the appearance (as described by the men who found it) of the burnt wick of a candle; this had been thrown away and destroyed before Mr. Chancellor visited the spot. With regard to the excavations, but little has been done recently in the shape of digging, the weather having prevented their continuance; but Mr. Chancellor is inclined to think that they have come upon the most curious part yet excavated. This consists of a portion of a circular wall; but whether it formed a part of a circular or semicircular apartment, he is not yet able to determine. The diameter, however, has been ascertained to be twenty feet. The piers are composed of tiles about nine inches square, and one inch and a quarter thick, generally in five courses, and about two feet apart. Large tiles were placed, reaching from pier to pier, to form the bottom for the bed of concrete, upon which was placed the tessellated pavements. Fragments of very large tiles have been found, three inches thick, and which must have been quite two feet long. As soon as the open weather comes, it is intended to renew the researches. The coins, of which there are about fifty, are mostly in good preservation. Mr. Chancellor promises, as soon as he can get at the position of more walls, to make out a plan of the whole of the excavations; but the walls yet discovered are so fragmentary, as to present no appearance of plan.

Mr. Purland exhibited various Roman antiquities from the collection of Mr. Fillinham, of some of which drawings were directed to be taken for future reference.

Mr. Long communicated, through Mr. C. Roach Smith, some badges belonging to horse-furniture, or harness, which were referred to Mr. Planché for consideration.

Mr. A. H. Burkitt exhibited two keys, obtained from the Seine, at Paris; but their forms had nothing peculiar to render their illustration necessary.

Mr. George Milner exhibited the impressions of two seals,—one of the city of Worcester, the other of the city of Lincoln.

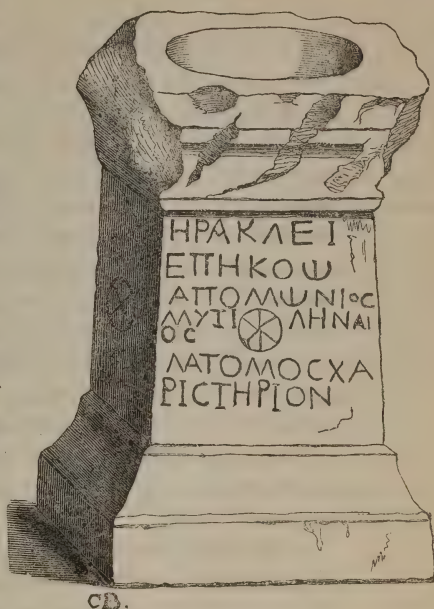
FEBRUARY 6.

Mr. Christopher Lynch gave a notice of some remains supposed to have been of the ancient church of the Knights Templars, and other early buildings, behind the house of Mr. Charles Griffith, of Holborn (near Middle Row, and opposite to Gray's Inn), and exhibited a specimen of antique green wine-flask, being one of five met with in excavating on the site. Mr. Baily and Mr. White undertook to make a survey of the place, and to report to a future meeting.

Mr. Charles Moore Jessop forwarded the following account of a Greek altar obtained from Athens:—

“The piece of sculpture now in my possession, which this drawing represents, was found among the ruins of a temple of Minerva, at Athens, and brought to this country about ten years ago.

“The material appears to be Athenian marble. The altar is a little mutilated at the top; but otherwise in good preservation. Its dimensions are—height, nine inches and a half; basement and entablature severally, six inches and a half; and five inches and a half square. The column, or shaft, is nearly five inches by four inches and three quarters, and tapers slightly toward the top, giving to the whole a graceful appearance. At the top is a circular hollow



three inches and a half in diameter, and half an inch deep. Its use was to contain the ball in the games; and, as a domestic altar, to receive the libations. A figure, in high relief, two inches and a half in circumference, appears in the centre of each side. The weight of the altar is twenty-four pounds and a half.

“The inscription runs thus: ‘*Ηρακλει επηκω Απολλωνιος Μυτιληναιος λατομος χαριστηριον.*’ ‘To Hercules the propitious, Apollonius the Mytilenian, a worker in stone (dedicates) a thank-offering.’

“Considering the great regularity with which the ancient Greeks engraved their slabs and altars, and the irregularity of this, we cannot assign to it an earlier date than that of the Christian era.”

Augustus Guest, esq., LL.D., made the following communication through Mr. C. Roach Smith:—“I take this opportunity of mentioning the existence of a very curious piece of Saxon sculpture, which fell a short time ago, while in Wiltshire, under my notice. I was visiting an old friend at Stapleford Matravers, a very pretty and retired village, about eight miles from Salisbury, on the road to Bath; and while there, I made many antiquarian journeys to the numerous objects of interest in which that part of the country especially abounds. On one of these occasions I rambled across the meadows to the church of Little Langford, a hamlet lying on the opposite side of the valley, through which the river Wiley takes its course; and

there, embowered in trees, I found the church I am now about to describe. Of the dedication I can say nothing; the date, the early part of the fourteenth century. The style bears in places marks of transition from the early English to the decorated, but it requires a more accustomed eye than mine to fix with precision the period and characteristics of the original design. The *abomination of reparation* has here spoiled more than can be imagined; and the neglect of the east window is likely to be attended with equal mischief, for the mullions are in parts so attenuated, that were the glass removed, the whole of the stone-work must immediately fall. The ground plan is slightly cruciform, and the material rubble-work; it consists of nave, transept, and chancel. The ancient porch seems to have been removed, and is now replaced by a modern one, of red-brick. The interior of the church is remarkable, chiefly for its extreme mutilation: the screen has long since disappeared, but the holes in the walls on either side shew that it must have been both large and massive. On the south there is a hagioscope, concealed by the pulpit, and in the transept an altar tomb, with a recumbent, but very mutilated figure, both of which are duly covered with a most elegant coating of eternal whitewash. The length of the building is about sixty feet.

"I now proceed to describe to you the most interesting feature for which this church is remarkable; and in order to convey more clearly the character of the sculpture, I shall have pleasure, if you think it worth having, of sending you the sketch of the design which I made at the time I visited it. (See plate ix). On the exterior wall, on the south side of the church, west of the transept, and under an imperfect Saxon (?) arch, is a very curious piece of sculpture, to which the surrounding country-people have attached the legend I shall presently communicate. The subjects are two, and seem to have no immediate connexion one with the other. That, above the spring of the arch on two distinct and rough stones, is first, a bishop *in pontificalibus*, with a crozier in his left hand, and with the right upraised, the first two fingers being extended in the act of giving the benediction. On his right is a rude lattice-work ornament, with three pellets in each half of the quarry. Above his head the remains of what no doubt was a canopy. The other stone has carved on it a figure, something like an anchor; and upon the shaft, as well as on the flukes, three birds are perched. It is evidently allegorical, and may perhaps represent the Trinity, as the anchor of Christian faith. The subject sculptured on the other stone extends quite across the arch, and is a grotesque representation of a wild boar hunt, as I take it, but there is ground for the belief that this also is an allegory. The animal is of vast size, and is hunted by three dogs; one of them has fixed his teeth on the throat of the boar, while the other two are harassing him behind. The whole group may not inappropriately represent the church and the power of evil. There is no end to inventions

of this kind amongst the ecclesiastical remains of that debased and vitiated period of church history, in which the practices of the first three centuries were as much unknown as the languages in which their doctrines were conveyed. Hence the errors and puerilities that, amidst the splendour of architecture, fail not to arrest the attention of the student of our Christian annals. I might add some few instances, but as this is beside the subject, I will not at present trouble you with them. The legend attached to the bishop and the birds is as follows :—The hamlet of Little Langford lies immediately under Grovely Wood, and about a mile and a half distant is the village of Steeple Langford. Here tradition fixes the residence of a certain fair and noble lady, who held vast possessions in the county, and claimed, in a spirit of avarice, what did not strictly belong to her; namely, a large portion of the forest of Grovely. One day she went to the wood and gathered some nuts, in one of which she found a maggot of unusual size; and, in a fit of woman's caprice, took it home and nursed it with such care, that it grew to an enormous magnitude, but requited the lady's kindness by biting her finger so severely as to cause her death. The broken canopy they take for the maggot, the bishop for the lady, the pellets for the nuts, and the birds and anchor for Grovely Wood. This is the myth that finds implicit faith amongst the rustics of the neighbourhood!"

Mr. Lynch exhibited a specimen of needle work of the time of Charles I; and Mr. Chaffers and Mr. Burkitt illustrated the same by specimens from their collections, of a peculiar description of needle work, which prevailed during a limited period at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and not mentioned by lady Wilton, or any other writer upon the subject.

FEBRUARY 20.

Mr. Lynch exhibited two ivory carvings: one of the fourteenth century, representing the Crucifixion; the other of the seventeenth century, being the story of king David and Bathsheba.

Mr. Keet exhibited a large stone celt found in the Thames, at Lambeth.

Mr. Baily made the following report of his examination of the premises in Holborn, mentioned at a previous meeting :—

"By the desire of the Council, and in company with Mr. Alfred White, I have visited the premises No. 322, in Holborn, which have been in the occupation of Mr. Griffith's family more than a century. At the back of the same we found a large building, formerly consisting of one room only, measuring about forty feet in length from east to west, and twenty-one feet wide from north to south, within the clear of the walls. This room is now divided into two stories by a modern floor.

“Stowe¹ mentions buildings existing on this site. He says: ‘Beyond the Barres (Holborn) had ye in olde time a temple, builded by the Templers, whose order first began in the yeare of Christ 1118, in the 19 of Henry the first. This temple was left and fel to ruine since the yeare 1184, when the Templers had builded them a new temple in Fleet-street, neere to the river of Thames. A great part of this olde temple was pulled downe but of late in the yeare 1595. The same was after the bishoppe of Lincolnes Inne, where he lodged when he repaired to the cittie; and John Russell, bishop of Lincolne, lord chauncelor in the raigne of Richard the III, 1483-1485, was lodged there. It hath of late yeares belonged to the earles of Southampton, and is, therefore, called Southampton-house. One Mayster Roper hath of late builded there, by meanes whereof, part of the ruines of the old temple were seene to remaine builded of Cane-stone, round in forme, as the new temple by Temple-barre. Beyond this Southampton-house is New-streete, so called in the raigne of Henry III, 1216-1272, when hee founded the house of Convertes, betwixt the old temple and the new. The same street hath sithence been called Chauncery-lane, by reason that king Edward the third, 1327-1377, annexed the house of Converts by pattent to the office of Custos Rotulorum, or maister of the rolles, in the 15 of his raigne.’

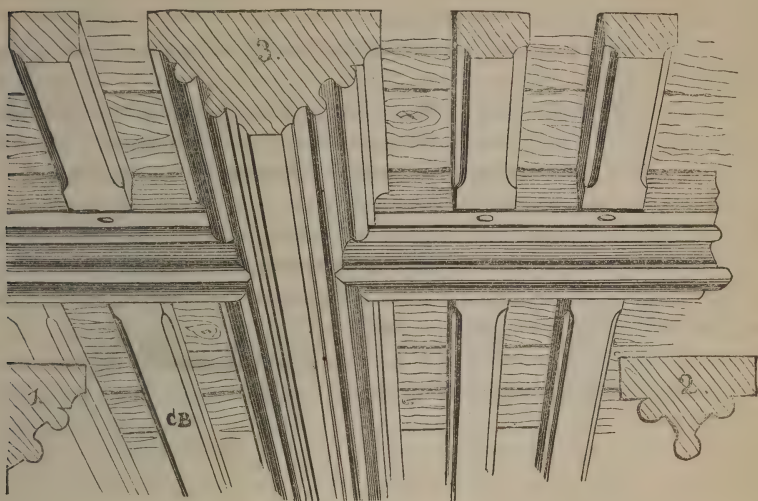
“We were told by Mr. Griffith, that this room has always been known to his family by the name of the Chapel, but why so, it does not appear; nothing of an ecclesiastical character is to be seen, and it certainly could not have formed any portion of the old temple mentioned by Stow.

“The framed timber ceiling is the only object worthy of notice; it is now supported on shoring; and although the timbering is perfectly sound, it must very soon fall to ruin, on account of the great weight and the bad construction of the roof above it; this ceiling is quite flat, and is divided into six large panels, having one longitudinal and two transverse moulded girders, or beams, of large size; moulded cornice, or wall plates, to correspond with the girders, surround the north, west, and south sides; but as the room appears to have extended formerly more eastward, there is no wall plate on this side, but a transverse girder, similar to the two before mentioned; from the wall plates to the longitudinal girder, joists are framed, measuring seven inches by six inches, and seven or eight inches apart. The figures Nos. 1, 2, and 3, shew the forms of the wall plates, and the transverse and longitudinal girders; and No. 4 shews a view of a part of the ceiling at the intersection of these.

“On the north side in the upper part of the wall is an opening, now built up, it measures nine feet wide, and has the appearance of having been a window; a portion of a doorway with a pointed arch remains in the south-west corner of the room.

¹ “Survey of London”, 1598, pp. 361-2.

"The construction I consider cannot be of earlier date than the year 1500, and it may be twenty years later.



"This room was most probably the chief apartment, or hall, in the residence of the earls of Southampton. It is interesting as a relic of old London, which in a few more years most likely will be swept away."

Mr. Chaffers exhibited a very fine specimen of ancient embossed alms-giving dish, from Germany; upon which, and on two others of a similar character, Dr. Bell read a paper, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton, communicated a brief notice of the discovery of some Roman buildings at Gullet Copse, situate near the fifty-sixth mile stone on the Towcester road. See pp. 73-76, *ante*.

Mr. G. N. Wright exhibited the cast of a sculptured boss, in the centre of the vault of Staunton tower, at Belvoir castle; an account of which, with illustrations, will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

A correspondent forwarded, through Mr. C. R. Smith, the following notice of a contemplated destruction near to the city of Salisbury:—"I beg to call your attention to a contemplated act of barbarism, which, perhaps through your influence as an antiquary, may be defeated. It is no less than the wilful demolition of the oldest church in the diocese of Salisbury, and the proposed removal of the site of the new church to the vicinity of a future railway station. The church is that of Fisherton, in the immediate suburb of the cathedral city, and distant not more than one mile from the episcopal palace. As a student of ecclesiastical antiquity, I am much annoyed by this violation of Christian decency, as well as of canon and

civil law; for under what plea soever the church be destroyed, it is nothing less than sacrilege. Nothing can justify such an act of stupidity and impiety. I have done what I can to prevent it, but I fear the state of church discipline is such as to leave no hope of success. The foundation of the church is much older than the cathedral, and is mentioned in *Domesday Book*."

Mr. Smith stated, there was a strong feeling against the needless destruction of old churches. In the present case, he was happy to say that the destructionists would probably be defeated, as people very properly were tardy in furnishing money for such a purpose.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid before the Association a paper on horse-shoes, which, together with illustrations, will appear in the *Journal*.

The rev. Beale Post forwarded the tenth part of his remarks on the coins of Cunobeline, for which see pp. 16-29, *ante*.

Mr. Thomas Barton, of Threxton, Norfolk, transmitted the impression of a silver ecclesiastical ring, bearing the letters *ih̄s*.

MARCH 6.

Mr. C. R. Smith exhibited four bronze rings, two small torques, and a celt, which had been dug up in Woolmer Forest, Hants, last summer. They were found about twelve feet below the surface of the ground.

Mr. Lynch exhibited a coloured glazed tile from Alhambra, with an Arabic inscription:—"Wa la Ghalab la Allá"; *i.e.* "There is no conqueror but God."

Mr. Chaffers also exhibited a similar tile.

Mr. Syer Cuming made some observations on Morisco-Spanish art, which forms part of the interior decoration of the palace Alhambra; and remarked that there was formerly preserved at Granada a fictile vase, of gorgeous design, embellished with shields similar to those found on the tiles of Alhambra; and, like them, having Arabic legends. The arabesque pattern of Mr. Lynch's and Mr. Chaffers's tiles is slightly raised above the surface, which is of a deep green colour. The tiles, however, offer an infinite variety of exquisite arabesque designs, in different colours—white, yellow, blue, green, brown, etc. Mr. Lynch's specimen presented a yellow shield, charged with an heraldic bend, bearing the inscription above stated.

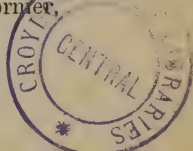
Mr. Cuming further remarked:—"The tile now under consideration offers some curious points for comparison with those manufactured by Christian artificers. We find the encaustic tiles of the fifteenth century bearing shields charged with the sacred monogram of *ih̄c* precisely in the way the Morisco tile is charged with the citation from the Koran. Another point of interest to observe is, that the Morisco-Spanish tiles were, in all probability, the archetype of the rich polychromic tiles first manu-

factured in Flanders, in the sixteenth century. The bright intertwined arabesque pattern, on a deep blue, or green field, is to be found on the earliest examples of these 'gally tiles', as they were formerly called. (Mr. C. produced a specimen of one of these tiles, which evidently manifested the influence of Saracenic taste in its design. The field was deep blue, the arabesques white, and it bore on it two representations of yellow fruit, with crimson crowns and calyxes, and yellow and crimson leaves, which it is not impossible may have been intended by the painter for pomegranates, the badge of Granada. It was found in making an excavation in Wood-street, Cheapside, in 1848).

"If we look upon the Alhambra tile as a whole, we may perceive the influence which one hostile creed had upon the arts of the other. The Moslem and the Christian, ever at deadly antagonism, did not disdain to profit by each other's ideas. The follower of El-Islâm adopted the Christian shield, with its heraldic bend, but stamped on it the precept of his prophet. The Christian caught the idea, and not only placed the sacred monogram within an escutcheon, but emblazoned it with the emblems of the passion of his Saviour; and covered the walls and floors of his edifices with the rich and beautiful arabesque ornamentations, designed by his bitterest foe.

"The love for richly-decorated glazed tiles has existed for ages in the east. They are extensively employed in China, both as coverings for the roofs of buildings, and as ornamental copings to walls, etc. Green is the most usual tint met with, but the imperial palaces and temples of Confucius are adorned with yellow tiles, denominated *Hwang-wa*. The celebrated 'Porcelain Tower', at Nankin, receives its title from being covered with glazed tiles, which are of a green, yellow, and red colour. This temple was erected in the reign of Suen-tsong, fifth monarch of the Ming dynasty, in the year 1432.

"Glazed tiles, variously coloured and embossed, are met with in the pagodas and other edifices of Pegu, Burmah, and Nepaul: and the mosques, in the ruins of Gour, one of the ancient capitals of northern India, are faced with embossed and coloured tile-work (three fragments of which were exhibited—one piece was of a deep blue, another white, and the front edge of the third was moulded into the form of a baluster, and covered with yellow and green glaze. They were from the king's tomb and gateway, and the Nuttin Musjid—buildings erected in the fifteenth century. These fragments were found in the jungle, near the mosques, by colonel Franklin, in 1826). At Damascus is an ancient structure, called the 'Green Mosque', from its minaret being entirely covered with enamelled tiles, of a bright green colour, which present a most splendid appearance when the sun is shining upon them. It is in Persia and the older buildings of Turkey that we must look for the most tastefully designed tile decorations. Tavernier,



in his *Persian Travels* (p. 22), speaks of a grand mosque at Tauris (*Tabriz*) being adorned with embossed and enamelled tiles: some bearing black flowers, on a green field; others, white stars, on a black field. Fraser, in his *Journey into Khorassan*, describes the *sahn*, or square, in which stands the mausoleum of Imaum Reza, at Mushed, as being 'completely incrusted with mosaic work of tiles, painted and glazed, and arranged in figures of the most tasteful patterns and colours.' The dome of the mausoleum 'is covered with a coating of gilded tiles, relieved in some places around the neck with bands of azure blue, bearing Arabic inscriptions, in gold letters.' The interior of the building 'is highly ornamented with tiles of the richest colours, profuse of azure and gold, disposed in the most tasteful manner into garlands and devices of flowers, mingled with texts from the Koran.' The Kalif Houron al-Rasheed is interred in this splendid building. The magnificent mosque and tomb of Sultan Mahomed Khoda-Bendeh, at Sultanieh, in Persia, erected about the year 1583, displays some most curious and interesting examples of decorated tiles; and the *musjid sha*, or royal mosque at Ispahan, built by order of Shah Abbas the Great, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, is also embellished with glazed tiles of the richest description. The interior of some of the more stately buildings of Turkey are adorned with most beautiful tiles, which frequently display much of Iranic taste in their composition."

Mr. Cuming exhibited an exceedingly elegant wall-tile, admirable both for its florid design and brilliancy of colouring, obtained from a palace which belonged to the grand signior at Adrianople. It was painted with large white flowers, with green centres, upon a blue field, bordered with green bands. It measured between nine and ten inches long, and rather more than four inches and a half wide, and may probably have been the work of the sixteenth century.

In apology for dilating upon oriental antiquities, Mr. Cuming observed that—"Although we bear the name of the British Archæological Association, let us not be deterred from sometimes extending our researches beyond the shores of our island-home. The antiquities of other countries frequently serve to elucidate those of our own land. These Alhambra tiles show us the origin of the gally tiles, which once adorned the sacred edifices and mansions of our forefathers; and again, the origin of these tiles must be sought amid the sunny regions of the east—thus demonstrating that the antiquities of Arabia may even shed a reflected light upon those of our own country."

Mr. M. A. Lower exhibited a small bronze object, which Mr. Smith conceived to have been the ornamental part of the handle of a knife, or some such instrument. "It is (he remarked) neatly made, and represents a two-fold subject, according as to the position in which it is held; namely, a nondescript creature, and an equally *unnameable* beast seizing upon and

swallowing the hind-quarters of a smaller animal. It is probably one of the Saxon exaggerations of a very common Roman design, that of a dog catching a rabbit, which is often found on pottery, and (more resembling Mr. Lower's relic) on the handles of Roman knives, from Reculver and Chesterford."—See plate vi, *Antiquities of Richborough and Reculver*, by Mr. C. R. Smith and Mr. Fairholt.

Mr. Charles Ade, of Milton Court, Alfriston, addressed the following communication to Mr. C. R. Smith :—"Within the last few days I have made an interesting discovery of what seems to be the remains of a *Roman road*, apparently leading from *Pevensey castle to Lewes*, it being in nearly a direct line between the two. My attention was drawn to the subject in the most accidental way. Not many days since, I was dining with the worthy vicar of an adjoining parish, together with several of my neighbours, when conversing about the antiquities of our more immediate vicinity, a respectable farmer present remarked, that in some of his fields he had noticed an appearance which he could not account for; namely, a bed or layer of stones, reaching for a considerable distance, consisting of a mixture of sea-shingle and flints, which he observed must have been carried to the place for some unknown purpose. His remarks applied more especially to one of his fields, which has been recently ploughed.

"The foregoing very naturally excited my curiosity, and in consequence I yesterday took an archæological friend with me, to inspect the locality; and in the ploughed field alluded to we found the stones, as anticipated, and laying in a straight line across the field, in a right direction from Pevensey towards Lewes. Our examination was not confined to this one field, but we had not time to much extend it; however, the result of our investigation was, that we could only account for what we saw by surmising it to be the remains of a Roman road, hitherto (I believe) unnoticed. Proceeding in the inquiry, it has been reported to me that similar appearances have been observed at long intervals, for the space of several miles, extending both east and west from the field we have noticed, and as it would appear in a straight direction from Pevensey (or Anderida) towards Lewes (or Mutuantonis)?

"It is a rather remarkable feature of the locality of our supposed line of investigation, that the land for miles together is meadow, or pasture land, which involves our research in the more obscurity (the ploughed field mentioned is an exception); yet the system of under-draining being now carried on to an unusual extent, may give us some assistance in this respect. I did not think to ascertain the distance across the ploughed field (where the traces are too evident to be mistaken), but I suppose it to be from thirty to forty rods, or perches."

Mr. Grove Lowe, of St. Alban's, communicated through Mr. R. S. Solly, V.P., some further intelligence respecting the excavations going on at

Verulam. He observes :—" Some labourers are now at work for lord Verulam, throwing down the hedge and bank between the theatre of Verulam and the road. I find they have discovered the wall which I always suspected to exist under the hedge, and forming the face of the theatre next the presumed Watling-street, which is now clearly shown for about one hundred yards formed of gravel, three feet, and perhaps more, in depth ; a slight mixture of broken brick, with the gravel, clearly shows that this stratum of road material is artificial. This discovery affords additional reason to regret the injury done to the old foundations before they were covered over, which will render it more difficult to connect the present with the former excavations."

Mr. S. R. Solly, V.P., exhibited the rubbing of a brass of John Pecoek, and Maude his wife, of which a representation was given in vol. v. To the present rubbing the armorial bearings are affixed.

MARCH 8.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report of the Auditors for 1849-50, was read :—

Auditors' Report.

WE, the auditors of the BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, hereby report, that having examined the account of receipts and payments of the Association for the past year, we find the receipts amount to £786:16:7, and the payments to £757:16:5, leaving, consequently, a balance of £29:0:2 in favour of the Association.

We beg leave, at the same time, to express the satisfaction we have felt in witnessing the accurate manner in which the accounts are kept ; in viewing the clearness and completeness of the information given respecting them ; and in observing the rigid economy practised in the Association's expenditure.

It is, also, with much pleasure we advert to its prosperous condition, and the advances it has made, pecuniarily and otherwise, during the last year : the amount received on account of life and annual subscriptions during 1849-50, having reached to a larger sum than in any preceding year.

It appears that sixty new associates,—and this number including several gentlemen well known for their antiquarian taste and knowledge,—have been elected during the year ; whilst, on the other hand, we have to

deplore the loss of ten associates by death; and to regret the retirement of thirty-seven other members, several of whom, however, had allowed their subscriptions to fall into arrear.

It is satisfactory to find that the treasurer has been able to liquidate all claims upon the publication of the Winchester volume. There are, however, subscriptions still due upon that volume, and also upon the Gloucester volume, which, it is confidently hoped, will, by the exercise of the same discretion and zeal, discharge all obligations upon the latter work: the printing of which constitutes the only debt for which the Association is at this time responsible.

And, in conclusion, we venture to feel assured it will be highly gratifying to the members at large, thus to see the precise condition of the affairs of the Association, and to know that, upon its general account, for which the annual subscriptions are applied, there is now no outstanding debt whatever.

WILLIAM YEWD.

JOHN WEBB.

London, 8th March, 1850.

The Treasurer delivered in an account of the members deceased, or withdrawn, and also of those elected during the year, which was received with great satisfaction.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to the Treasurer for his valuable services and the deep attention he has always given to the welfare of the Association.

The thanks of the meeting were also unanimously given to the Auditors for their copious and satisfactory report.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to the President and Council for the past year.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to the Secretaries of the Association for their valuable services.

Upon the motion of Mr. Pettigrew, the recommendation of the Council to appoint a Registrar, Curator, and Librarian, was unanimously agreed to.

It was also resolved, that the Public Meetings be held during the session, on the evenings of the second and fourth Wednesdays of the month, instead of Fridays, as heretofore.

A ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1849-50.			
Balance at the last Audit	15 14 3	Printing and Binding Journals of the Association, Nos. XVI. to XIX.	247 6 9
Life and Annual Subscriptions.....	360 17 0	Illustrating the same.....	106 10 6
<i>Donations:</i>		Rent of Rooms in Sackville Street	16 16 0
T. Wright, Esq.	5 0 0	Stationery	2 5 0
T. Purland, Esq.....	1 1 0	Miscellaneous Printing	4 6 6
A. White, Esq.	1 1 0	Mr. Ashpitel (Worcester expenses)	5 5 0
W. P. Griffith, Esq.	1 1 0	Advertisements and Postage.....	15 4 6
W. Yewd, Esq.	1 1 0	Carriage of Antiquities, expenses in examination of the same, Carriage of Books, &c.	8 17 10
G. Milner, Esq.	1 1 0	Collector's per centage, delivery of the Journals, and gratuities to Servants	25 16 4
<i>Donations in aid of Illustration of the Journal:</i>	10 5 0	Printing, Illustrating, and Binding Winchester Volume	325 8 0
Hon. R. C. Neville.	8 15 0	Balance in favour of the Association	757 16 5
Ditto	9 5 0		29 0 2
Rev. Beale Poste.....	1 10 0		
S. W. Stevenson, Esq.	5 0 0		
Joseph Mayer, Esq.	8 1 0		
A. H. Burkitt, Esq., Etching of Greensted Church	32 11 0		
Balance in favour of the Association by Chester Congress	64 8 10		
Sale of Journals	30 8 6		
Subscriptions to and sale of Winchester Volume	272 12 0		
	<u>£786 16 7</u>		<u>£786 16 7</u>

London, 7th March, 1850.—WILLIAM YEWD; J. WEBB.

Mr. Gould and Mr. Newton having been appointed Scrutators of the lists, delivered in the following as elected :—

PRESIDENT.

JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR WM. BETHAM, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.	R. MONCKTON MILNES, M.P.
BERIAH BOTFIELD, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
BENJ. B. CABELL, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, F.S.A.		C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
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Hydrographical Secretary—CAPTAIN BULLOCK, R.N.
Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DOCT.
Registrar, Curator, and Librarian—ALFRED WHITE.

COUNCIL.

W. H. Ainsworth	Lord Londesborough, F.S.A.
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.	Thomas Lott, F.S.A.
Charles Baily, F.S.A.	Major J. A. Moore, F.R.S., F.S.A.
William Beattie, M.D.	Benjamin Oliveira, F.R.S.
Alexander H. Burkitt, F.S.A.	E. Bedford Price
F. H. Davis, F.S.A.	James Prior, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.	John Green Waller
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.	William Wansey, F.S.A.
James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.	

AUDITORS.

A. C. Kirkmann		W. D. Haggard, F.S.A.
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Thanks were voted by acclamation to the President, for his attendance on this occasion, and for the interest he has manifested to promote the welfare of the Association.

MARCH 13.

Two papers, from Benjamin Gibson, esq., of Rome, Foreign Associate : one, on the monument discovered at Xanthus, by Sir Charles Fellows ; the other, an account of some discoveries of antiquities, recently made at Rome, were laid before the meeting, and referred to the printing committee, with a view to their publication in future numbers of the *Journal*, accompanied by the requisite illustrations.

Mr. Henry Norris, of South Petherton, forwarded a sketch taken from an old stone adjoining a bridge over the river Parrett. It represents two children, respecting whom in the neighbourhood there exists a tradition as to their having been drowned by the breaking in of the bridge, when it formerly consisted of wood. It is probably a mediæval sepulchral slab. Mr. Norris also forwarded the rubbing of a brass, in South Petherton church, to the memory of a lady Mary Daubney, who, he believes, was the mother of Giles, the first lord Daubney, to whom the manor belonged.

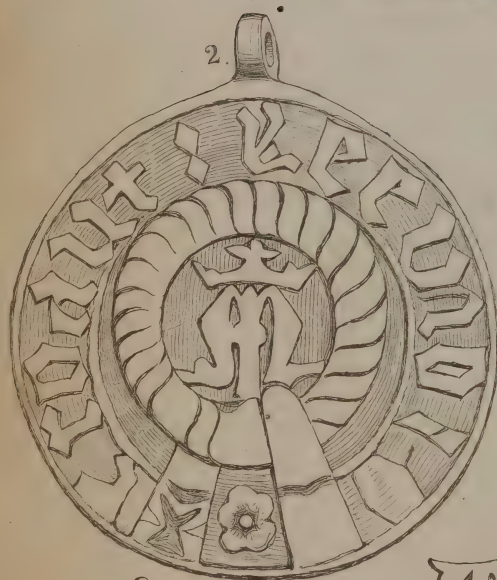
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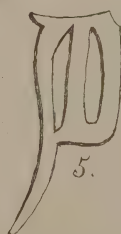
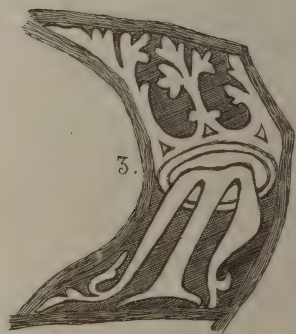
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ERRATUM.

Page 33, line 37, for *philpot*, read "*filfot*".



Bailey T.S.A.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1850.

NOTES ON A BOSS AT BELVOIR CASTLE.

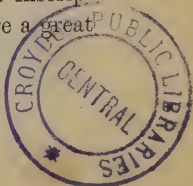
BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN December last, some rubbings were exhibited by Mr. George R. Wright to the Association, of a boss, or key-stone, existing in a vault beneath the Staunton tower, at Belvoir Castle, and a desire was expressed by several of the members that a cast should, if possible, be obtained from the original sculpture.

This desire, Mr. George Wright has been enabled, by permission of his grace the duke of Rutland (who has expressed himself lately to be much interested in the matter), to gratify, by placing before us a cast taken some years ago for the purposes of an investigation instituted at Cambridge; but which does not appear to have produced any decisive opinion respecting its meaning and probable antiquity.

In the cellar book at Belvoir,—for the Staunton vault is now the private wine cellar of his grace,—is preserved the following letter, written by the late Mr. Francis Douce, probably at the period of the above inquiry, which was kindly pointed out to Mr. Wright by Mr. Douglass, the steward:—

“The large letter on the key-stone of the vault under the old tower at Belvoir Castle, may be either for a T or an M. The T used in inscriptions from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, certainly bore a great resemblance to the letter in question.



"It varied in its form, as did other letters used at one and the same period, according to the fancy of the scribe or the sculptor, and appeared in the following shapes. (See plate x, fig. 4.)

"In an inscription in the church of Great Bookham, in Surry, it has this singular form. (See fig. 5.)

"In a book printed about 1450, by Fust and Schœffer, there is a letter prefixed to that service of the mass, called 'Te Igitur', of which this is a reduced copy (see fig. 6). The authors of the *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, state, that this T is often used in old German MSS.

"That as this letter cannot be traced to Norman times, I should think it will not fit Robert de Todenis so well as it would, as an M, a Manners, and particularly so with its accompanying coronet.

"The lower part of Belvoir Castle is, most probably, the oldest, and where the architect would in preference record the memory of the founder, and of which I think instances are not wanting. As I am now writing without the Belvoir letter before me, what is here stated must be regarded with the necessary indulgence, the whole matter being left to the better judgment and experience of others.

F. DOUCE."

This letter, written with the usual caution of its learned author, unfortunately throws no light upon the subject. Mr. Douce evidently had seen only a drawing of the centre letter, and not of the border which surrounded it, or he would undoubtedly have alluded to the letters sculptured thereon.

The rev. Irvin Eller, in his *Guide*, or Hand-Book to Belvoir Castle, speaking of the vault, says: "The roof is intersected with eight plain bevilled ribs, springing from the rock or floor of the cellar; at the point of intersection is a key-stone, on which are rudely sculptured a monogram of Longobardic character, a coronet of fleurs-de-lis and leaves intermixed, surrounded by a belt, consisting of a similar monogram, and a rose alternately." And after summing up the evidence for and against its being of Norman origin, concludes by stating, that there is an accumulation of probabilities derived from tolerably early data, that Thomas Manners, first earl of Rutland, was the rebuilder of this portion of the Staunton tower in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Presuming, however, that the vaulted chamber (for it is misleading one to call it simply a vault) formed no part of the most ancient portion of the castle laid in ruins by lord Hastings, circa 1461, the form of the letters, and the gene-

ral character of the ornament of the key-stone, bear such evident mark of the workmanship of the fifteenth century, that it would require very conclusive testimony to induce antiquaries of the present day to assign it to any other period.—See plate x, fig. 1.

Let us see, therefore, what circumstances afford us, in the shape of collateral proof, in support of the internal evidence.

There can exist no doubt, that the crowned letter is M, and not T. By a curious coincidence at the very time the cast of the boss was forwarded to the Council, a circular metal plate was also sent for exhibition, having on it a crowned M of precisely the same character.—See fig. 2.

The occurrence of a crowned M in ecclesiastical buildings is frequent, as the initial of the Virgin Mary, “Regina Cœlorum”; an instance is herewith engraved from some painted glass at Little Worley church, Essex (see fig. 3). In the case of the boss, however, there is no reason to imagine that it has a sacred origin, and but little to doubt that it represents the initial of the family name of the present noble owner.

This circumstance, therefore, limits the field of inquiry to the latter half of the fifteenth century, as the castle of Belvoir only came into the possession of the Manners family on the marriage of sir Robert Manners, of Ethale, Northumberland, and sheriff of the county 1445, with Eleanor, sister and co-heir of Edmund lord Ros, of Ham-lake, in whose right George Manners, her eldest son by sir Robert, became twelfth Baron de Ros, A.D. 1487.

The letter M being crowned, appears to have authorized the idea, that it must needs represent the family of Manners after the revival of the earldom of Rutland, in the person of Thomas Manners, thirteenth Baron de Ros, by letters patent bearing date June 1526.

But putting aside the fact, that the coronet is not that of an earl, which even as early as the reign of Henry VIII, was composed of alternate leaves and pearls upon unequal heights, the custom of surmounting initial letters with arms or coronets prevailed to a great extent at this period.

Impressions of seal rings are continually exhibited in

illustration of this practice; that of one of the Colby family, herewith represented, is sufficient to prove, that it was in fashion amongst those who had no pretension to a coronet whatever.—Vide also Proceedings, vol. v, page 359.



Let us now examine the highly interesting ornament which surrounds the crowned M, and which Mr. Eller terms “a belt consisting of a similar monogram, and a rose alternately”. If by similar, Mr. Eller meant the same monogram, he was certainly mistaken, for the letter alternately with the rose is in every instance an R, and the ornament altogether is not a belt, we conceive, but a family collar,—one of those many royal or noble *liveries* which knight or peer did not disdain to wear when presented by his feudal lord or liege sovereign.

They first appear in effigies towards the close of the fourteenth century, and they multiply exceedingly in the fifteenth. About the period to which we are inclined to assign this piece of sculpture,—namely, the contention of the houses of York and Lancaster,—many celebrated examples are to be produced. The collar of suns and (white) roses, badges of the house of York, is to be seen round the neck of the effigy of sir John Crosby, in Great St. Helen’s church; of sir Robert Wingfield, painted in a window of East Hirling church, Norfolk, executed between 1461 and 1480; of the countess of Arundel, at Arundel, Sussex; and in numerous other examples. The suns and roses in the last-named one are connected by oak-leaves, a badge of the Arundel family.

In some instances, these collars had a pendant, such as the white lion of March, the white boar of Richard III, etc. Now, at the time Thomas Manners, lord de Ros, was created earl of Rutland by Henry VIII, he was a knight of the garter, having been elected a companion of that noble order on the 23rd of April in that year, and we cannot but suppose that had the initial M been that of the first earl, it would have been surrounded by the collar of the order of the garter; family decorations having by that time wholly disappeared.

Now, what, on the other hand, is the evidence in favour of its connexion with sir Robert Manners, the first of that

family who was lord of Belvoir Castle, or of his son George, who succeeded him. Sir Robert Manners, the husband of lady Eleanor de Ros, as Mr. Eller himself tells us, was knighted in 1465. In 1466, he was made deputy to Richard duke of Gloucester, then admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. It almost follows, as a matter of course, that he would have been decorated with the livery collar of that prince, and the alternate R and rose form precisely such a combination as we should look for in such a decoration. He died about 1485, the year in which "Diccon, his master", fell in the battle of Bosworth Field, and his son George, who succeeded him, and became lord de Ros on the death of his mother in 1487, we find in the service of the Lancastrian victor; and though he married a grand-daughter of Richard duke of York, he was unlikely, after the union of the Roses, to command the sculpture of a party badge of so peculiar an origin, unless in commemoration of his father, as his personal ornament.

After the accession of Henry VII, family collars, as I have before observed, seem entirely to have disappeared, as we meet with none but those of the garter, or of SS, that mysterious decoration, the origin of which is yet to seek. There is one other derivation assignable with some probability to this collar; it may have been the family livery of De Ros, and therefore appropriated by that into which the heiress had married, in the same way that the De Ros's had centuries before assumed the arms of the Trusbuts of Wartre, on succeeding "de jure uxoris" to that barony.¹ An R and a rose would be as applicable to the house of De Ros as to Richard duke of Gloucester.

The water bougets of the Trusbuts have so completely superseded the armorial bearings, whatever they might have been, of De Ros, that we have no indication left of them; but it is in accordance with all analogy to presume that they should have been roses, or at any rate a rose would be a badge or cognizance likely to have been adopted by a family of that name. Roses were granted, in 1630, by the College of Arms, to Roos or Rosse, of Lyme Regis,

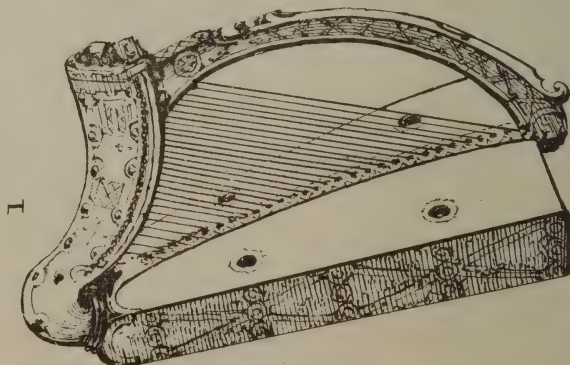
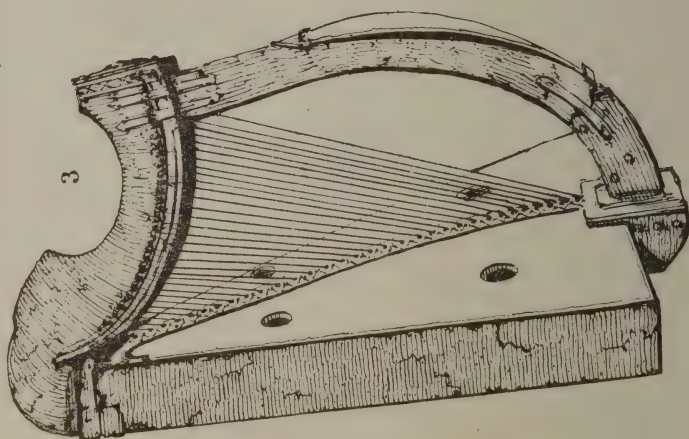
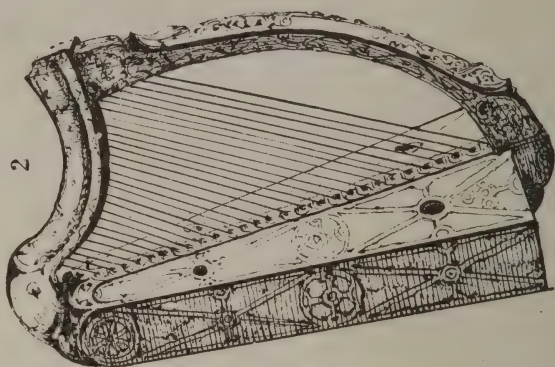
¹ Leland, in his *Itinerary*, vol. vii, p. 20, says, "the lord Trusbut gave in his arms three bolts."—*Qy.* three *boutz* or *bouts*.

county Devon. Crest—A rose, *gules*; seeded, *or*; barbed *vert*; between two wings expanded, *ermine*.

The crest of another Roos whose arms are *azure*, three water bougets, *or*, is stated to be three slips of roses, *argent*, leaved, *vert*. But granting that the collar should belong to the house of Ros, or that the roses and R's are merely arranged as an ornament around the M, in allusion to the union of the families, the genealogical facts before us prevent our dating the sculpture anterior to 1445, and the historical events do not appear to justify the supposition of its being executed later than the fifteenth century.

It must not be forgotten that this opinion has been formed solely on the inspection of the cast forwarded to London, and that evidence more conclusive might yet be obtained from an examination of the chamber itself, which does not seem lately to have undergone any critical survey. Mr. Eller describes the ribs of the arches as "springing from the wall or floor of the cellar". Do they not rather spring from the capital of columns entirely concealed by the usual accumulation of earth, the bases of which may, with the original floor of this vaulted chamber, be found many feet below the present level, and afford undoubted proof of their age, or fresh matter for speculation? Formerly a guard-room, or perhaps even a banquet-hall, it is now a wine-cellar. Is it possible to ascertain, without injury to the vinous antiquities, (which Bacchus forbid!) the original height and form of this interesting apartment? Amongst the authenticated records of his Grace's princely hospitality, are entries of the rapid consumption of hundreds of dozens of wine and innumerable hogsheads of ale. If, at the conclusion of any such noble revel, there should be the slightest appearance of "a hole in the cellar", might we most respectfully request his Grace to take the opportunity of allowing a competent archæologist to make the necessary exploration?







ON THE
ANTIQUITY AND PRIMITIVE FORM OF OUR
NATIONAL INSTRUMENT, THE HARP.

BY CHAS. EGAN, ESQ., BARRISTER AT LAW.

“Though the voice shall cease, and the harp be silent, their fame shall not be forgotten.”—*Orran*, an Erse Poem.

THAT the Members of the British Archæological Association have, on former occasions, deemed the subject of Ancient Musical Instruments worthy of their consideration, the pages of their own *Journal* creditably testify;¹ but that fact is not surprising, when we recollect that the main objects of the Association are — “to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers.” Under these circumstances, therefore, it is hoped that a few remarks on the antiquity, and probable primitive form, of our national instrument, the harp, may not prove unacceptable.

Of all the various musical instruments respecting which any information has been handed down to us, the harp is unquestionably the *most ancient*, as well as the *most celebrated*; and whether we contemplate the instrument as regards its extreme antiquity—as having been the favourite instrument of our forefathers in remotest times—or as being deeply (perhaps we may say indelibly) interwoven with our national annals, any concomitant of its history must prove interesting to the British archæologist, as well as to the British patriot.

Although it is not intended to enter into a minute disquisition on the history of our national instrument, it may, perhaps, be well to glance at a few historical notices of it, before offering our surmise as regards the probable original form of an instrument, which in most civilized

¹ See articles “On the Musical Instruments of the Middle Ages,” vol. i, p. 291, and vol. ii, p. 221; and “On Phonic Horns,” vol. v, p. 119.

nations,—and in none more than in our own great nation,—

“Has gained the good, the fair, the wise,
To weep and worship at its numbers.”

An attempt to trace the history of this noble instrument leads us far beyond the ordinary annals of nations; indeed we may ascend to the august authority of the Bible itself, even in its first pages, to establish a proof of its high antiquity; for we find by the fourth chapter of Genesis, that Jubal “was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ.”¹ Jubal was the seventh descendant from Adam, and thus the Sacred Record furnishes an allusion to the harp at a very early period.

Commentators on the Pentateuch are of opinion, that the harp and other antediluvian instruments were handed down from Jubal to Noah, whose sons, after the flood, carried it with them into Chaldæa, and from thence into Egypt, where it continued until the time of Moses.

Under Moses, who was conversant with the arts and knowledge of the Egyptians, and who devoted particular attention to music, it may be fairly presumed that the harp was cultivated; for we are told that Moses, having been educated by Pharaoh’s daughter as her own son, “was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.” (*Acts*, chap. vii, verse 22.) Clemens Alexandrinus particularizes the acquirements of that great prophet and legislator, by affirming that “he was instructed, in his maturer age, by the Egyptians, in all the liberal sciences, as arithmetic, geometry, rhythm, but above all, music.”—*Stromata*, lib. i.

That the harp held a conspicuous place in the feasts and religious ceremonies of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Hebrews, numerous passages in Holy Writ also fully demonstrate.²

Among the Greeks, whose love of music amounted to enthusiasm, and who deemed it a gift from the gods,³ the

¹ “The Hebrews called him the father of anything who was the first inventor of it.”—Bishop Patrick’s *Commentaries on the Pentateuch*.

² See Genesis, c. xxxi, v. 27; 1 Chron.

c. xxv, v. 1; 1 Sam., c. xvi, v. 16; and also, throughout the Book of Psalms.

³ Vide the Bishop of Gloucester’s “Divine Legation”, v. iii.

harp was likewise a favourite instrument, as appears from the writings of various ancient authorities.¹ Plato mentions, in his first *Alcibiades*, to that great man, in Socrates' name, how he was taught "to read, to write, and to play on the harp" (*Malcolm on Ancient Music*, p. 486). Cornelius Nepos, in his *Life of Epaminondas*, relates that the great Theban hero could dance and *play on the harp*, which were accomplishments justly esteemed in Greece. Cicero notices that Themistocles, upon refusing the harp at an entertainment, passed for one unlearned and ill bred. Martianus Capella states (*in Nuptiis Philolog.*), that in several cities of Greece, the officer who published the laws was accompanied by a performer on the harp; and the prince of ancient poets, Homer, in a familiar passage of the *Iliad*, (lib. ix), thus alludes to a performance on the harp of his hero Achilles :

"Amused at ease, the God-like man they found,
Pleased with the solemn harp's harmonious sound
(The well-wrought harp from conquer'd Thebæ came,
Of polished silver was its costly frame):
With this he soothes his angry soul, and sings
The immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."

That the harp was a popular instrument among the Romans, many celebrated writers certify. Suetonius, in his *Life of Vespasian*, tells us that that emperor gave the eminent performers on the harp, Terpnus and Diodorus, two thousand crowns in gold each. St. Chrysostom states that, among the emperor Constantine's musicians, were performers on the flute and harp; and the celebrated writer and legist Apuleius, in describing a musical entertainment of his own times (the second century), particularly notices the harp (*Metam.*, lib. v).

Although the Romans were later in cultivating arts and sciences than other great and powerful people, yet music was held in great estimation by them, and that science was cultivated with assiduity, and practised with *éclat*, by some of the most learned and distinguished characters. Athe-

¹ "The Greeks, it is well known," *Attic ear*, passed into a proverb for says Oswald, "had such a nice and delicate ear, that the expression of an *Attic ear*, passed into a proverb for that of a musical one."—*Rise and Progress of Music*, page 33.

næus says of the celebrated lawyer, Masurius, whom he calls one of the wisest of men, and inferior to none in the law, that he applied himself diligently to music; and Plutarch places music among the qualifications of Metella, the celebrated daughter of Scipio Metellus. The Laws of the Twelve Tables, instituted 450 B.C., also provided that a certain number of instrumental performers should attend the funeral ceremonies; and "that the praises of honoured men be displayed in an assembly of the people; and that mournful songs, accompanied with music, attend such praises."

That the harp, or a similar instrument, was generally studied by that warlike people the ancient Germans, appears from the pages of Diodorus Siculus (lib. v, c. 8), Strabo (lib. iv), and Tacitus (*De Moribus German.* c. 2).

In Finland, Norway, Denmark, and other northern nations, the harp was also a favourite instrument (*Bartholini, Antiq. Dan.*, 173; *Northern Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 380; *Hist. of Denmark*, lib. xii, p. 113); and we have the authority of Dante and Galilei, that in their time (the fourteenth century), "among the stringed instruments in use in Italy, the first was the harp" (*Galilei's Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, Florence, A.D. 1581);¹ and in France, likewise, at an early period, it was considered a pre-eminent instrument at court; and the celebrated French writer, Guillaume de Machau, in his interesting production, *Le Dict. de la Harpe*, lauds the instrument in enthusiastic terms, saying that "it should be used only by knights, esquires, persons of rank, and ladies, and that its fine and gentle sounds should be heard only by the elegant and good."² But where, we may confidently ask, can we find more brilliant reminiscences of this ancient and charming instrument, than in the historical records of our own glorious isles? The annals of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, unequivocally demonstrate, that the instrument had been, from the very earliest times, the refined delight

¹ Dante also states, that the Italians received the harp from the Irish, "who had been for ages celebrated for their superior performance on the instrument."

² Guillaume de Machu, according to the eminent critics, Abbé Lebeuf and Count de Caylis, flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century.

of our most celebrated ancestors; indeed our poets tell us that

“E'en kings themselves have mixed the bards among,
Swept the bold harp, and claimed renown in song.”

Alfred the Great, the most enlightened monarch of his times, was an accomplished performer on the instrument; and our early writers relate, that he achieved one of his most splendid victories over the Danes through the aid of his musical acquirements.

The kings and nobles of Wales were also its most enthusiastic votaries; and according to the early customs of that country, none could aspire to the character of a gentleman or freeman, who did not possess, and who could not perform on, the harp.¹ Our historians also testify, that William I, Henry I, Henry II, the chivalrous Richard I, Henry III, Edward I, Edward II, and Henry V, warmly patronized the instrument and its professors. It is recorded that William the Norman caused the harp to be continued as a court instrument; and that monarch's bounty to his bard, is alluded to in *Doomsday Book* (*Anstis' Ord. Gart.*, ii, p. 304). Raherus, the bard of Henry I, is noticed by Leland (*Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 99).² Madox says that Galfridus *Citharædus* (or the performer on and singer to the harp) received, *temp. Henry II*, a *corody* or pension from the abbey of Hyde, near Winchester (*Hist. of the Excheq.*, p. 251).³

The records of Henry III mention, that Richard, the king's harper, received an annuity and a pipe of wine (*Rot. Pip.*, an. 36, *Hen. III*); and notwithstanding the hostility of Edward I to the Welsh bards, that king re-

¹ Bede's *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv, c. 24; Dr. Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*; and Shakespeare alludes to the national custom of singing to the harp, in Owen Glendower's Address to Hotspur.—*1st Part of Henry IV*, Act iii, scene i.

² Leland states that Royer, or Raherus, founded the priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, in the third year of Henry I's reign. This fact proves not only that his profession was a source of wealth, but also that he entertained feelings of true piety; and probably as a memorial of his be-

nevolence, his name was given to one of the streets in that neighbourhood, viz., *Rahere-street*.

³ A *corody* was, in former times, an allowance of meat, drink, and clothing, due to the king from an abbey or other religious house, for the sustenance of such person as the sovereign should bestow it on. The ancient writ, *Corodio habendo*, is noticed by Fitzherbert, *Nat. Brev.*, 230; and see Collier's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. xi, p. 165; *Throgmorton's Case*; *Plowden's Commentaries*; and *Sir H. Finch's Law*, book iii, p. 56.

tained a minstrel, as we find his name (Robert) in the account of public expenditures. In the fourth of Edward II, we find him also noticed, when he performed before the Court at York. At the coronation of Henry V, which took place at Westminster, the harp held a conspicuous place. Elmham, in his account of that regal ceremony, thus writes: "What festival, I beseech you, can be deemed more important than one which is honoured with the presence of so many royal personages; by such a multitude of chiefs and ladies; where the harmony of the harpers, drawn from their instruments, struck with the rapidest touch of the fingers, note against note; and the soft angelic whisperings of their modulations are gratifying to the ears of the guests. The musical concert, also, of their instruments, which had learned to be free from all sorts of dissonance, invites to similar entertainment" (*Thomas de Elmham, Vit. et Gest. Hen. V*, cap. xii, page 23). This writer also mentions, that the number of harps in the hall on that day was prodigious; and, from the general tenor of his observations, it would appear that the British harpers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had acquired a complete mastery over the powers of the national instrument, that they could, on such august occasions,

"Call from their solemn harps such lofty airs,
As drew down fancy from the realms of light,
To paint some radiant vision on their minds,
Of highest import."

The annals of Scotland also furnish us with many interesting notices of the harp; for among the ancient Caledonians the instrument was greatly esteemed, and it makes a conspicuous figure in the works of some of their most celebrated writers:

"Sweet was the harp, and lofty was its tone,
To which the bards of Scotia's ancient race
Warbled, in notes majestic, soft, and full,
The tales of other times."

The Gaelic poems, the traditionary stories of the Highlanders, and the pages of their historians, fully testify the high estimation in which the harp was held in Scotland;

and in addition to many testimonies in its favour, we find that the instrument was cultivated by some of the most sage and illustrious of Scotia's sons, and by some of the most lovely and celebrated of Scotia's daughters.¹

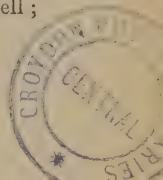
It is satisfactory to find, that there are still extant admirable specimens of the harp of Scotland, viz., the Caledonian harp, and the harp of Mary queen of Scots, both of which instruments are similar in form to the ancient Irish harp; and we feel great pleasure in stating, that it is to the patriotic exertions of the gentlemen composing the Highland Society of Scotland, we are indebted for public attention having been called to the existence of those antique and interesting relics of the musical instruments of Scotland.²

As regards Ireland, we find that the earliest records which have claims to authority, display the celebrity of that nation, not only in the cultivation of music generally, but of the harp more particularly. The fame of Erin for music has been long proverbial: there it was that "the charming art" was early nurtured with the most assiduous care, and advanced by the utmost excitation of encouragement; and it may be observed as a singular fact, that most of the testimonies and proofs of the antiquity of the harp, and the celebrity of its performers in Ireland, are adduced from authors of other nations, who may be fairly presumed as impartial, and therefore entitled to full credence.³ And further, as regards Ireland, it must also be satisfactory to the antiquary to know, that in that country, as well as in Scotland, there still exist interesting relics of "the harp of other days". One of the most interesting of these is the harp of Brien Boiromh (king of Ireland in the tenth

¹ When the Scotch king (Alexander III) met Edward I at Westminster, he was accompanied by harpers and minstrels, and the attendance of his chief bard, Ely, and the pre-eminent reward conferred upon him is recorded. The historian, John Major, when enumerating the talents of King James, says, that "on the harp he was another Orpheus," *De Gest. Scot.*, lib. iv, cap. xiv; and amongst the various accomplishments of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, was doubtless her performance on that instrument.

² Delineations of both these harps are given in plate xi (see figs. 1 and 2), copied from Gunn's *Historical Inquiry respecting the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland*.

³ See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Top. Hist. Dist.*, iii, cap. xii; Brompton; Galilei; Dante; Stanihurst; John Good; Barnaby Rich; Camden; Polidore Virgil; Caradoc of Llancarvan; Lord Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*; Selden; Powell; Wynne's *Hist. of Wales, &c. &c.*



century), which is still preserved in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin.¹

It will be observed, from the delineations of the most ancient harps extant in these kingdoms, viz., the Irish harp, the Caledonian harp, and the harp of Mary queen of Scots, that their forms are *triangular*; and we believe that no European monuments give the instrument any other shape; indeed, the opinion generally received hitherto, has been, that *the form of the harp was always triangular*.

According to St. Jerome, the cythara, or harp, was shaped like the Greek letter Δ , had twenty-four strings, and was played on with the fingers. The trigonus is mentioned by Julius Pollux (lib. iv, cap. 9), and by Athenæus (lib. iv), who states, that Sophocles calls it a "Phrygian instrument"; and one of his dipnosophists tells us, that a certain musician named Alexander Alexandrinus, was such an admirable performer upon it, and had given such proofs of his abilities at Rome, that he made the inhabitants musically mad. The celebrated Eucherius (bishop of Lyons), who considered the subject worthy of his grave research, was also of opinion, that the instrument was shaped like the Greek delta; and Kircher gives a representation, after a specimen in the Vatican, of the *kinnor*, or harp of David, which is similar in form to the delta. Beauford, in his *Essay on the Construction of the Harp*, says, "*the original figure of the instrument was probably like the harp of the Phrygians, a right-angle plain triangle*"; and sir John Hawkins, commenting on stringed instruments, asserts: "It is indisputable that *the triangular harp* is by far of the greatest antiquity."²

The writers just cited were doubtless influenced in their opinions by ancient diagrams, which represent the harp of a *triangular form*; but surely it is but reasonable to suppose that, anterior to the triangular formation of the instrument, more simple and rude attempts were manifested in its construction; and from a close investigation of the subject, we are disposed to consider that the original form of the harp was not *triangular*, but *arcuatus*. An able writer has observed: "It may be asserted with truth, that no one man was the inventor of any art, science, or

¹ A representation of this instrument is also given in plate xi, fig. 3.

² *Hist. of Music*, vol. ii, p. 272.

complicated piece of mechanism, without some *precognitæ*, some leading principles, or assistance from others. The first house was, doubtless, a cavern or hollow tree; and the first picture a shadow. In music, the first attempt must have been rude and artless: the first flute a whistling reed; and the first lyre, probably the dried sinews of a dead tortoise."¹ We, therefore, may perhaps be permitted to surmise, that the primitive harp was shaped like an archer's bow; and that the incipient construction of the instrument was first suggested by the vibration or twanging of the bow-string:

"Th' impatient weapon whizzes on the wing,
Sounds the tough horn, and twangs the quivering string."²

The most ancient harp of which we have any representation, is the Egyptian; and in support of our opinion, that the primitive form of the instrument was *arcuatus*, we must have recourse to some memorials still extant in Egypt,—that celebrated nation which numerous accredited historians testify was one of the first countries on the globe that cultivated arts and sciences.

From the testimony of various celebrated travellers who have visited Egypt, it appears that the walls of the temples and tombs of ancient Thebes were adorned with antique paintings, representing historical and personal events, which throw considerable light upon the habits and pursuits of the ancient Egyptians. Among the paintings still extant, are representations of various musical instruments, more particularly delineations of the harp: and it is pleasing to recollect, that the merit is due to a British subject (the celebrated and enterprising traveller, James Bruce), of having first called the attention of Europe to the existence of representations of the harp in Egypt. That spirited individual gave to the public two drawings of the Theban harp, copied by him from the paintings in

¹ Pausanias, *In Aread. ad Calcem*, says, that "there was an excellent breed of tortoises, for the purpose of making *lyres*, upon Mount Parthenius; but that the inhabitants, supposing these animals sacred to Pan, would neither use them, nor suffer strangers to take them away." "This," observes Dr. Burney, "is a proof that the prac-

tice of applying the shell of the tortoise to the lyre, was once common in Greece, as well as Abyssinia and Egypt."

² Homer's *Iliad*, book iv, and also in book viii:

"He said, and twang'd the string. The
weapon flies
At Hector's breast, and sings along the
skies."

the hypogeums, or sepulchres, of the ancient kings of Thebes; and one of those extremely antique Egyptian embellishments he presented to the eminent musical historian, Dr. Burney.

In a letter, written by Bruce to Dr. Burney, relative to the Theban harp, the traveller says: "I look upon this instrument as the Theban harp, before and at the time of Sesostriis, who adorned Thebes, and probably caused it to be painted there, as well as the other figures in the sepulchre of his father, as a monument of the superiority which Egypt had in music at that time over all the barbarous nations that he had seen or conquered."¹

It will be seen from the drawing of the Theban harps, as given by Bruce, that the instrument is shaped like an obtuse angle; it has the peculiarity of being constructed without a pillar, or fore-arm, and therefore indicates the fact, that the harp had not attained in Egypt, at the period when that instrument was constructed, the *triangular* form;² although, we should observe, there is little reason to doubt, that the harp did subsequently attain in that country *a triangular form*; because Bruce himself, in the communication to Dr. Burney, just alluded to, observes: "*The harp that approaches the nearest to this in antiquity, is represented upon a basso-relievo at Ptolemais, in the Cyrenaicum, a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and it is there twice represented. It has fifteen strings, or two complete octaves; but adding the additional notes has occasioned likewise the addition of a fore-piece, or pillar, to sustain the cross-bar above, so that its form is triangular.*"³

But in addition to the information afforded by Bruce,

¹ According to Wilkinson, Champollion, and other writers, Sesostriis flourished about 1700 B.C. This monarch was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors antiquity boasts of.—*Herod.* lib. ii, cap. 102-10; *Diod.*, lib. i, p. 48-54; *Ælian*, lib. xii, cap. iv.

² We are indebted to our learned vice-president, sir Gardner Wilkinson, for the drawing of one of the Theban harps, from Bruce's tomb. In Bruce's work, it is incorrectly given, probably from the haste with which it was taken,

and the difficulties which at that time presented themselves to travellers. See plate xii, fig. 1.

³ See Bruce's Letter; Dr. Burney's *Hist. of Music*, vol. i, p. 223. The popularity of the harp in Egypt is evident from numerous authorities. Athenæus, in his description of the celebrated festival, given by Ptolemy Philadelphus, at Alexandria, tells us that, among the musicians employed in the chorus, there were three hundred performers on the harp.—*Athen.*, lib. v; *Edit. Casaub.* p. 201.

the researches of many other celebrated travellers who subsequently visited Egypt, are calculated to throw further light upon our investigation regarding the primitive form of the harp.

When the French took possession of Egypt in 1798, the accomplished and celebrated Denon copied several figures of harps, in the Theban sepulchres:—delineations of these instruments are given in the splendid work on Egypt, published by the French government; and judging from the apparent simplicity of their construction, we are disposed to consider, that some of the harps represented in that magnificent publication are more ancient than even those copied by Bruce.¹

Champollion, who accompanied the Scientific Expedition to Egypt in 1828, also states, that he found similar paintings to those copied by Denon, among the tombs of Beni-Hassan; and he particularly notices one picture representing a chorocitharistæ, or concert of vocal and instrumental music, among which are "*musicians accompanying singers on the harp*, and performers on the harp of both sexes."² Mr. Madox, also, in his interesting work on Egypt, gives a sketch of a figure playing upon a harp, copied by him from a painting in a temple in the island of Philæ, in Upper Egypt.³ This instrument has only ten strings, and is similar in shape to some of the harps described by Denon, Wilkinson, and Champollion. These latter instruments are exceedingly simple in construction, being formed like the letter C: they give, as we consider, the primitive form of the harp, and strongly support our hypothesis, that the instrument took its origin from the archer's bow. (See plate XII, figs. 2 and 3, from Dendera and Tel el Amarna, taken by sir Gardner Wilkinson, the second volume of whose work, on the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, furnishes us with various specimens of the Egyptian harp, in an arcuated form.)

In further support of our surmise (one which we are not aware has been previously advanced) that the original

¹ See representations of harps in *Voyages dans la Basse, et la Haute pendant les Campagnes du General Bonaparte*, pl. cxxxv.

² *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*,

en 1828 et 1829. Par Champollion le Jeune. Sixieme Lettre, p. 81.

³ Madox's *Excursions in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia, etc.*, vol. i, page 368.

form of the harp was derived from that of the archer's bow, it may not be irrelevant to notice here the extreme antiquity of the bow. In all ages and nations the bow has been the principal missive weapon, and its origin may be considered as coeval with the first efforts of man's ingenuity for the purpose of exercising his mastery over the animal creation, either for defence or aggression; and it may be observed, that from the same sacred source whence we derive the first notice of the harp, namely, *the book of Genesis*, we also derive the first notice of the bow: "Now, therefore, take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver, *and thy bow*, and go out to the field and take me some venison," were the words of Isaac to his son Esau, *Gen. xxvii, 3*. The bow is subsequently noticed in other passages of the Old Testament; and we have the authority of many eminent writers, that this weapon was in general use amongst the Scythians, Egyptians, and Persians.¹

The bow particularly noticed as being the most ancient, is the Mæotian or Scythian, and we learn that it was shaped like a crescent, or the letter C; and in the first volume of sir S. R. Meyrick's work on *Ancient Armour*, there is a drawing of the Mæotian or Scythian bow, the figure of which is similar to the representations of the simplest formed Egyptian harps, as given by Denon, Wilkinson, Champollion, and Madox.² The brief allusion to the harp which appears in the book of Genesis, constitutes all the information we have of it as an antediluvian instrument; but the earliest representations remaining of the harp, are unquestionably those of the Egyptians, which people, perhaps, derived their knowledge of it from the Scythians, who probably fashioned it after their favourite weapon, the bow;³ and one of our most celebrated lyric

¹ *Diod. Sic.*, lib. i, chap. iv; *Herod.*, lib. ii, p. 119; *Potter's Archæol. Græc.*, vol. ii, p. 41. To these nations may also be added the Assyrians, whose warriors went armed with bows (see *Layard's Nineveh, and its Remains*); and so universal was the use of the bow, that Pliny observed, "half the world had been conquered by it."

² It would appear from Lycophron, that the Scythian bow was formed of steel:

"And swift from Teutarus' elastic bow
Fly winged shafts, and clangs the Scythian
steel!" — *Cassandra*, v. 60.

³ According to Herodotus, the Scythians greatly excelled other nations in the use of the bow; and some writers consider that their name *Scythian*, or *archer*, was derived from the Teutonic *scheten* or *schuten*, to shoot, owing to their superiority in the practice of archery. It is certainly evident that some of the earliest warriors were per-

poets (Moore) may have, although unintentionally, hinted the origin of the harp, when he enunciated the sentiment, that

“The string which now languishes loose o’er the lyre,
Might have bent a proud bow to the warrior’s dart.”¹

Brief as have been our remarks on the subject, we trust it has been made manifest, that the harp has been known and cultivated in almost every civilized state; and it is a most remarkable, as well as a most pleasing fact, that, notwithstanding the numerous great nations through which this celebrated instrument has passed, England stands conspicuous as being the only nation that has permanently adopted the harp in the quarterings of her national arms.² It is the opinion of many celebrated antiquaries, that our bardic customs and our harp were derived from that fertile source of the refined arts, the East; but that “the harp and the bard” flourished at a very early period in the British isles, there is ample evidence to demonstrate. The claims of Britain to early excellence, not only in the scientific cultivation of literature, but also in the refined but abstruse study of music, is substantiated by innumerable

fect ambidexters, as regarded the use of the bow; for we are told (1 Chron. xii, 2) that “the mighty men, helpers of the war, who came to David to Ziklag, were armed with bows, and *could use both the right hand and the left in shooting arrows out of a bow.*”

¹ Did we wish to dwell further on our surmise, that the primitive form of the harp was derived from the archer’s bow, we might adduce the additional fact, that the cords of the harp and the strings of the bow have, from time to time, been made of similar materials.

² It would seem that the *triangular form* of the harp was never departed from, in any civilized country, after its first adoption; for, with the exception of Egypt, all knowledge of the primitive-shaped instrument appears to have been lost; as neither in the sculptile or pictorial monuments of any other country, nor in the historical or musical works of former times, do we find any traces of the *arcuatus* harp; al-

though we do find the *triangular* harp delineated and commented upon in almost every polished nation. In addition, we may observe that there are strong grounds for assuming that the harp had acquired the *triangular* form previously to its introduction into Europe; and that its introduction to the British isles (more particularly) emanated from the Egyptians, respecting whom many writers are of opinion, that they carried on a commercial intercourse with these isles at a very remote era. The observations of the late Mr. Bowles (who devoted considerable attention to antiquarian research) would lead us to conclude that the Egyptians had, at a very early period, established a communication with the British isles, which that talented writer considered to be “the Isles of the Sea” mentioned in the book of Ezekiel.—See *Hermes Britannicus*, p. 23; and also O’Brien’s *Round Towers*, chap. vi; O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia*; O’Connor’s *Dissertation*, etc.

accredited historical testimonies.¹ When the barbaric and merciless hordes of early nations spread far and wide, like a desolating torrent, over the fair regions of Science and Art, destroying all within their ruthless career,—

“ When frightened learning saw the furious Hun
Rush on the cultured regions of the sun,
And, like the swelling of the mighty deep,
In one wide wave her classic wonders sweep ;”

Britain—generous Britain!—proved the kind and soothing foster-parent, who endearingly received to her arms the expatriated genius of Harmony, whose dulcet melody afterwards diffused delight throughout her lovely valleys—then it was that the harp again flourished, and may be said to have, in some degree, become regenerated :

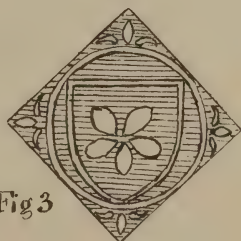
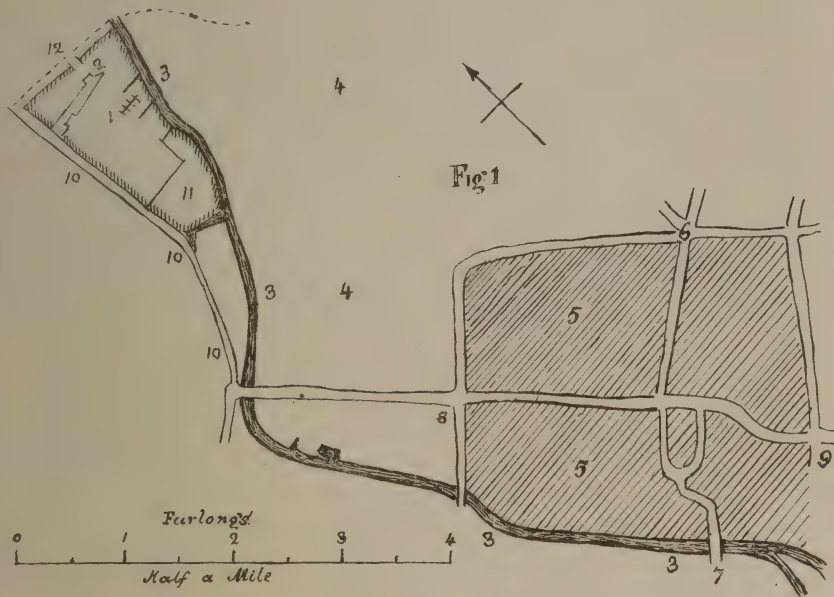
“ When Albion heard the sweet enchanting tone,
She chose the muse’s emblem for her own ;
Chose the bold harp, and justly proud unfurl’d,
The classical, unconquerable standard to the world.”

ON LEICESTER ABBEY AND ITS ANCIENT REMAINS.

BY JAMES THOMPSON, ESQ.

Soon after the conquest of England by the Normans, Leicester fell into the hands of Robert de Beaumont, and his descendants for several generations became the hereditary lords of the place. His eldest son Robert, sur-named *Bossu* or the Hunchbacked, succeeded him in the earldom, and took a very active part in the civil dissensions of the troublous reigns of Henry I and Stephen. He

¹ “ The British,” says Erasmus, being the most accomplished in the “ challenge the prerogative of having skill of music, of any people.”—*Moriae Encomium*, p. 101, Basil. edit.





was a man, like others of his class, at once brave in the field and timid in the closet—fearless in the presence of his foes, but the slave of priestcraft. He was a type of the lawless barons of his day, whom we can imagine to have run during their lifetimes a career of active violence, of exciting peril, and of passionate indulgence,—“sparing neither man in his anger, nor woman in his lust,”—and then to have sunk into a remorseful monk or a drivelling dotard, the prey of supernatural fears, and the plaything of a crafty priesthood, whose legitimate victims such characters were considered. But let this be as it may, Robert Bossu founded the abbey of Leicester on a spot where (modern discoveries would lead us to believe) once existed the cemetery of Roman Leicester; and the site was well chosen, for it was on the northern bank of the once flowing river Soar, now a nearly stagnant pool, filled with sedges, weeds, and swampy banks. It was within a short distance of the town, and was encircled by walls and turrets, whence might be seen the gates of Leicester, and, above its fortifications, the roofs of its houses, with the gilded spires of its churches; while the ear could catch the hum of voices, the din of industry, and the ringing of the bells of the contiguous borough, as they came over the level meadows which intervened. On its opposite side passed the ancient road which connected Leicester with the south and north of England, whereon king and beggar, merchant and pilgrim, soldier and priest, often journeyed.

On this spot, then, did Robert the Hunchback commence the erection of an abbey in honour of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, about the year 1143. It was intended as the abode of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine—of black friars. Richly did the founder endow his abbey; many were the meadows, the woods, the ample corn fields, and the fisheries, which yielded their produce for the benefit of the holy father and his brethren. Even some of the lands given to the church of St. Mary of the Castle, by his father, were transferred to the convent of St. Mary of the Meadows by Robert Bossu. And, when conscience pricked him for his misdeeds as he advanced in life, the earl sought the cloisters of the abbey as a place of refuge, and there did he chaunt religious hymns, repeat his orisons, and meditate on his past actions—leaving, at

last, his own remains within its precincts, there to await the doomsday. His lady founded a nunnery at Nuneham, and there deceased.

It would occupy a volume were I to relate how many earls and countesses gave lands and houses to this fraternity in succeeding times. Robert Blanchmains, the son of the founder, married Petronilla (the daughter of Hugh Grentmesnil) who erected a church in connection with the abbey, and was buried in the choir before the high altar ; giving as a proof of her affection to the convent a plait of her own hair, whereby the great lamp of the edifice was suspended. The principal tenants and vassals of the earls of Leicester also became great donors, and were interred within the edifice, near the remains of their suzerain lords. Its abbots were among the most noted ecclesiastics of their times, numbering on the list William le Cloun, Philip Reppington (the Wicliffite), Gilbert Foliot, and others ; Henry of Knighton, the historian, being one of its canons.

The abbey became also the resort of the kings and queens of the country, with their courts, as they travelled through it ; the hospitable doors being always open to the passer-by, whether royal or plebeian. Of the former, Richard II and his queen, with their retinue, may be named as instances. But to the poor people of the town close by, the convent was a great blessing ; for alms, medicine, and scholastic tuition, were found by its members for the destitute, the sick, and the young, of the adjoining community. A visitor more illustrious than Richard II has, however, conferred upon the abbey an undying fame : the death of cardinal Wolsey within its walls, commemorated by the immortal Shakespeare, has associated the name of the place with the nation's history to the end of time.

I need not here detail the circumstances connected with the overthrow of the institution in the reign of Henry VIII ; nor how, after the piety of generations of nobles and knights, and of princely ladies, had added to it chapel after chapel, and relic after relic, until it had become like some rich argosy floating down the stream of time, all these were wrecked and scattered abroad on the rocks of revolution. The recital would only be painful and distasteful to the antiquary, or even to any reflecting Englishman. It

may suffice to state in this place, that the abbey was given by Henry VIII to Mr. Cavendish, the attendant upon cardinal Wolsey in his last hours (whose account of the closing scenes in the life of his master presents the minute fidelity of detail of a Flemish painting); and that while it continued in the possession of this gentleman's descendants, the venerable fabric was destroyed. A mansion was erected near to it, probably in the reign of Elizabeth; but the ecclesiastical fabric was completely overthrown and extirpated during the civil wars and antecedent periods. The present ruin is a fragment of the mansion: not the *smallest vestige* remains above ground of the once stately abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows,—the hostelry of monarchs, the home of proud abbots, the mausoleum of a race of earls, the dying-place of cardinal Wolsey.

As might be expected, soon after the cloisters had been deserted, the roofs stripped of their leaden covering, the tower of its bells, and through the empty windows

The melancholy winds a death-dirge sung,—

the vulgar cupidity of the populace urged them to search openly and by stealth for the buried treasures with which they thought the site abounded. Nor is it surprising, that the minds of the ignorant multitude living in the neighbourhood, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, should have dreamed that countless stores of riches and jewels lay in the tombs and vaults, and might be made their own; especially after a royal example had been afforded of such licentious conduct. An excavation was made on the spot a few years previous to the breaking out of the civil war, when the countess of Devonshire resided at the abbey. An account of this was drawn up in the early part of the last century, by a clergyman of Leicester, named Carte, who obtained the information he embodied in his statement from Mr. John Hasloe, the grandson of Arthur Barefoot, the countess's gardener. Hasloe's account, derived from his grandfather, was this:—Part of the church stood at the east end of what was a little garden, in the orchard formerly called the 'New Garden'. Arthur Barefoot and others, in digging here, found several stone coffins, the cavities of which were inverted. One of these was about six feet one inch long, four wide, and a

foot deep; all had a small hole in the middle. Among them, one was fixed upon as cardinal Wolsey's; but the countess would not suffer it to be disturbed, and ordered it to be covered again.

This is the substance of Mr. Carte's account, as it appears in Throsby's *History of Leicester*. The archæological discoveries made since Mr. Carte wrote, enable us to perceive that the coffins here referred to were those of the Norman period; while it is placed on record, that cardinal Wolsey was buried in a *wooden* coffin; therefore, we may safely conclude, that the gardener did not turn up the latter, but, more probably, the "last house" of some earl, countess, or abbot, of earlier times than those in which the cardinal lived.

The latest search made in the abbey gardens took place in the months of June and July 1845, when, in conjunction with a few friends and acquaintances, the writer raised a subscription to defray the expenses of the proceedings; and two labourers commenced a series of "diggings", under the direction of one or two local antiquaries. I took notes of the progress of the excavations, from day to day; and as they may present some points of interest to the reader, I purpose here to publish them in a condensed form. A few preliminary explanations are, however, necessary.

The site occupied by Leicester abbey and its grounds was anciently enclosed by a strong stone wall, of oblong outline, occupying an area of a few acres. Three sides of this wall remain in a more or less mutilated and patched condition. (See plan, plate XIII, fig. 1.) Within it, the ground is laid out for gardening and similar purposes, being held by Mr. R. Warner under the earl of Dysart. Parts of the gardens, bordering on the river, are divided from others by ancient walls, which run at right angles to the outer boundary — one of the four sides of the old enclosure. One of the spaces thus confined is known as the "terrace"; it rises towards the wall, and a view over the abbey meadow of the town is there afforded. A second (the "laundry") is filled with fruit trees of various kinds, and is, I suspect, that which was formerly known as the "new garden". A third, containing a pond, walks, and so on, is now called "the wilderness". The wall separating the whole of these divi-

sions from the river, is evidently ancient; is (or was) guarded with picturesque turrets; and contains numerous apertures whence missiles and arrows might be discharged on an enemy.

In undertaking the task of making the subterranean researches, we had the good fortune to be cordially seconded by Mr. Warner, the tenant, who lent all the help he could afford; but we had no other means of ascertaining where the old abbey church had stood, except those which the spade provided. Even tradition was silent as to the site of the fabric. Our first "diggings" were, consequently, made somewhat at random.

On the 17th of June 1845, a trench, about twelve feet by five, was dug, nearly in the centre of the grounds. At the depth of a few feet, portions of black material (resembling decayed wood), and pieces of human and other bones, beneath a layer of sand, were found; then, lower still, a drain crossed the trench, a leaden pipe was discovered, and the tusk and jaw of some animal. The following day was a *dies non*. On the 19th, another trench, to the northward of the other, was opened, and large bones, mingled with slates and stones, came to light. While I was standing near the trench, one of the labourers informed me that some "quarries", or glazed tiles, had been found in the "laundry", when a gardener had planted liquorice roots there some time before. In the afternoon, the labourers were directed to dig in the laundry, and turned up one or two tiles, bearing on their surface the cinquefoil. This, of course, rendered the excavations a little more interesting than they had been; but though trenches were dug, day after day, from the 20th of June to the 3rd of July, nothing was found to satisfy the curiosity of the antiquaries. The ground at the depth of a few feet was composed entirely of large stones. On the 4th, however, their drooping spirits were reanimated by the discovery of a flooring of encaustic tiles, at a depth of four or five feet. The design on those first taken up was a crowned head, resembling that stamped on the coins of the Edwards—a full face with a beard, surmounted by a coronet (fig. 2). The next was ornamented with a shield, on which the cinquefoil was delineated (fig. 3); this was the escutcheon of the Norman earls of Leicester. Being on the right spot, the labourers

were told to continue their digging in the direction of the outer wall, as far as the pavement reached. On the Wednesday following they ceased, not having arrived at the termination of the pavement; but not until they had uncovered it for more than twenty yards.

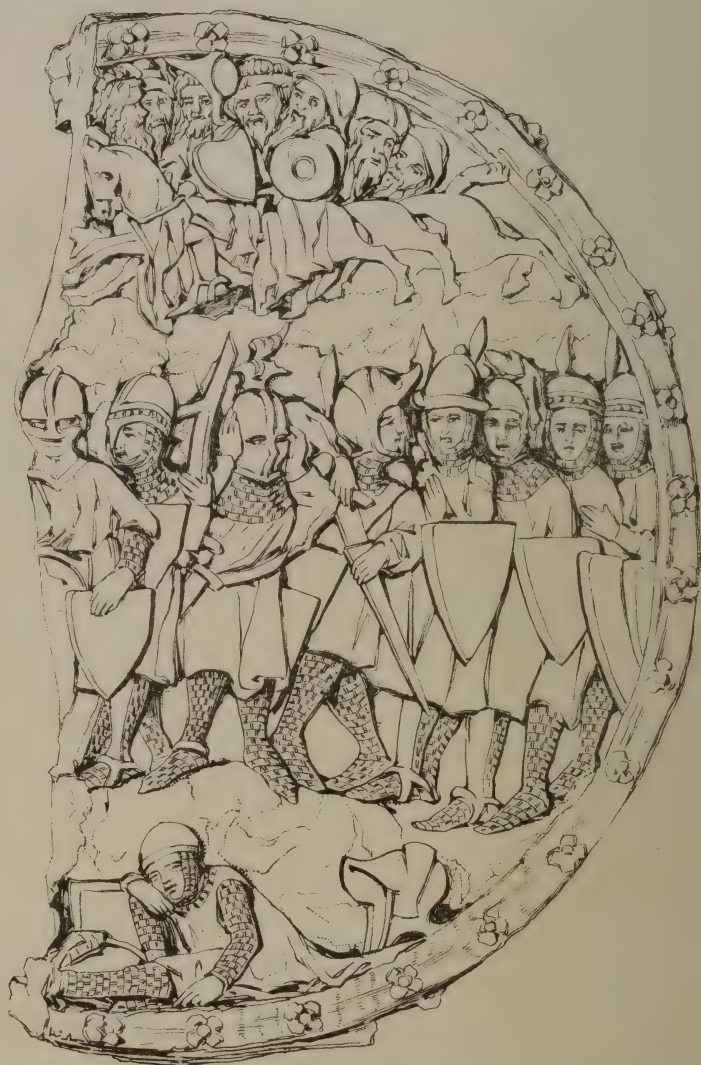
It was now thought advisable to pause, and make inquiry whether the landlord would sanction further proceedings. One of the party (the late Mr. Stockdale Hardy, F.S.A.) placed himself in communication with his lordship's steward, with a view of ascertaining the fact. No satisfactory reply was, however, received. The excavations therefore ceased. The trench was filled up, and no further proceedings were taken.

Enough, however, was discovered, to prove that the actual site of the abbey church was at last found, and that much more might have been revealed. Here the inquiry will for ever rest, unless permission can be obtained for a recommencement of the search, and a larger number of subscribers come forward to defray the expenses necessarily incurred in the undertaking.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN, PL. XIII, FIG. 1.

1. Site of pavement in Abbey grounds.
 2. Site of Elizabethan mansion.
 3. River Soar.
 4. Meadows.
 5. Area of town within the ancient walls.
 6. East Gate.
 7. West Gate.
 8. North Gate.
 9. South Gate.
 10. Abbey Gate.
 11. Low ground within Abbey walls.
 12. Ancient gateway in Abbey walls.
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This plan is only intended to shew the situation of the grounds round the site of the abbey; the walls and ancient streets. The canal, modern streets, etc., are omitted.



ON
AN IVORY CARVING OF THE THIRTEENTH
CENTURY; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON
THE PRICK SPUR.

BY A. C. KIRKMANN, ESQ.

I BEG leave to draw the attention of the Association to a very curious subject of archæological inquiry, although perhaps one of no great utility: it is, whether the pryck-spur was used singly, or in pairs?

I think the first doubt on this point arose on the discovery of the remains of Udard de Broham, in Brougham church, Westmorland, in the month of October 1846; a most interesting account of which was communicated by William Brougham, esq., the Master in Chancery, to the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, vol. iv, page 59. Udard de Broham was a crusader in the time of Henry II; and on opening his tomb, an iron prick-spur was found attached to the left heel of the skeleton, but there was no trace whatever of there having been one on the right. In a note, by Mr. Albert Way, to Master Brougham's paper, a similar discovery is recorded to have been made near Lausanne in 1838; and I believe there is no instance of a pair of these curious spurs ever having been found together. Since the subject was first noticed, an authority has fallen into my possession which sets the question at rest, and proves beyond all doubt, that in pursuance of some peculiar custom, or in compliance with the usage of some particular order of knights, a single spur was occasionally if not generally used.

My authority is an ivory carving of the time of Edward I; it has probably been the back of a speculum. The subject it represents (see plate xiv) is divided into three compartments. The first exhibits the flight of a body of Turks or Saracens; the second, some European knights, apparently arming for pursuit—all these knights have the spur only on one heel; the third compartment represents

a sleeping knight. Unfortunately, about one-third of the carving is wanting.

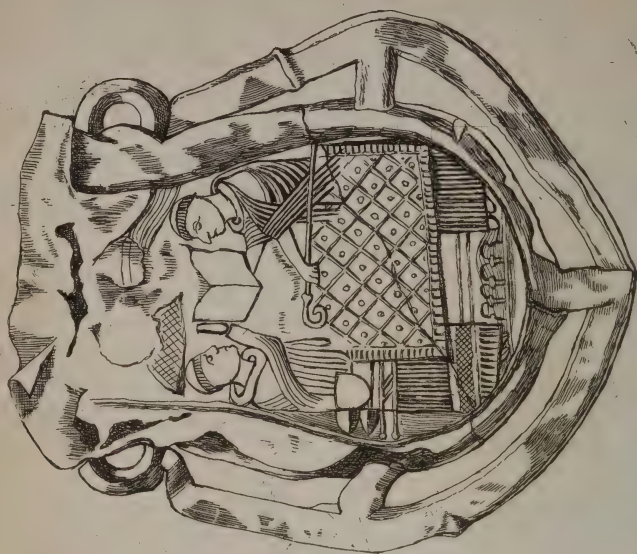
Since this curious relic came into my possession, I have spent considerable time in searching through the old historians of the Crusades, in the hope of finding some confirmation of the fact it discloses, but in vain; for although William of Tyre, Richard of Devizes, Vinsauf, and many others, occasionally mention the spur, it is always in the plural number, but this may arise from corruption of the old text.

The Bayeux tapestry was another source from which I anticipated some light on the subject; but here, with a few rare exceptions, both legs of the horsemen never appear; and although in plate xv of the copy published by the Society of Antiquaries, the important figure of Tostein Fitz Rou le Blanc has the spur only on the right heel, there are two figures in plate xvi which have the spur on both; this, therefore, leaves the question, so far as that authority is concerned, just where we found it.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I am inclined to think a very plausible reason may be suggested for what, according to our modern ideas of chivalry, appears a very incongruous custom. On the first institution of the Order of the Templars, the rules of the order (which professed poverty and humility) assigned but one horse to two men; now, the improbability that two men were allowed four spurs, is obvious—looking at the care with which the early rules governing all the orders of knighthood were framed; it is much more probable that each man was allowed but one spur, and if this were so, we get at the origin of the custom, which might have continued one of the distinguishing marks of the Templar long after the reason for its adoption had ceased to exist.



C Bailey 78.4



LEADEN AMPULLA

in the Yorks. Museum.

REMARKS ON A LEADEN AMPULLA IN THE YORK MUSEUM.

BY CHARLES BAILY, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE very curious relic of antiquity represented on plate xv, is now preserved in the museum at York. It is a small vessel, or ampulla, formed of lead; where it was found is not known; nor is there any history attached to it. The engraving is of the same size as the original.

On one side is the figure of a bishop vested in his robes, with a mitre on his head, and holding a pastoral staff in his hands; around his head is a nimbus, and above is what appears to me to be intended for the canopy of his throne; the figure is enclosed in an areole; around the ampulla is a narrow fascia, fastened to the centre portion by three bands; on this fascia is the legend — *OPTIMVS EGRORVM MEDICVS FIT TOMA BONORVM*; which we may translate—"The best physician for the good invalid, is Thomas".

The date cannot be considered later than the middle of the thirteenth century, judging from the character of the costume of the figure, and particularly from the form of the mitre, which is short and low, and very much resembles that on the effigy of Hugh de Northwold, bishop of Ely, in Ely cathedral, who died in 1254; and also that on the effigy of the bishop in the Temple church, London, which belongs to the same period.¹

The question arises, as to the probable use of this vessel? The rev. Dr. Rock, a good authority in such matters, in answer to my inquiries, states:

"I presume it to have been meant for a reliquary, to hold perhaps dust gathered about or off the shrine of saint Thomas of Canterbury, or oil from the lamps burning there, and employed for the sick: it is made to be thin, and easily worn by strings around the neck."

Reliquaries, however, are more often formed with openings on one or both sides, covered with glass, or crystal,

¹ Stothard's "Monumental Effigies", plates xxviii and xxxiv.



so as to shew the relics without touching them with the hands.

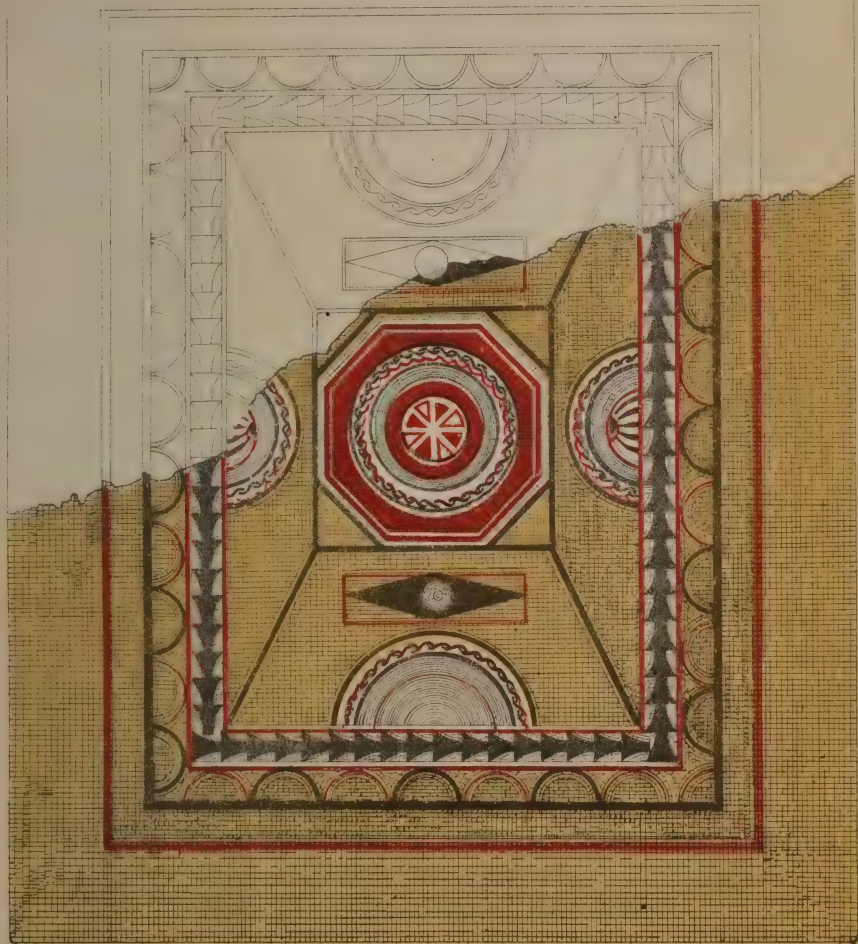
On the reverse, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction,—that is, the performance of the last rites of the Romish church previous to death,—appears to be the subject represented; and if so, there is every probability of this ampulla being a receptacle for the holy ointment used in that sacrament. Two monks are attending a sick person in bed,—one of these holds a pastoral staff in one hand, and a book in the other, from which the second monk, standing on the opposite side of the bed, is reading; the head of the invalid is seen at the back above the monk to the left, an ornamented counterpane is thrown over the lower part of the bedstead, and the two handles may have been used as a means to suspend it over the altar.

ON A ROMAN PAVEMENT DISCOVERED AT HARPOLE, IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

IN 1846 (see *Journal*, vol. ii, page 364), Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton, first made known to the British Archæological Association the discovery of a Roman pavement, in a field near the half-way house, between Northampton and Weedon. In November 1849, he obligingly forwarded to the Association a further account (see *Journal*, vol. v, p. 375); and in January last, transmitted a drawing of the pavement (see plate XVI), by which it appears not only to be of larger dimensions than any hitherto discovered in Northamptonshire, but also distinguished by some peculiarities which are deserving of notice.

From Mr. Pretty's account, we learn that in the winter of 1849, the ploughing being deeper than usual, the ploughman came upon the pavement which had been first developed in 1846. The earth being removed from its surface

PLATE XVI.



ROMAN PAVEMENT

Discovered in a Field near Harpole, Northamptonshire.

Scale of 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 Feet

Waterlow & Sons Lith London W & A London



and around it, the pavement presented the design seen in the accompanying plate. Mr. Pretty remarks, that in all the pavements found in Northamptonshire (and which are north of the river Nen in this locality, and at Castor), the designs do not represent any of the beautifully finished subjects from the heathen mythology; from which circumstance it may be concluded, that the pavements in this part of the country are of a later date; and from the Greek cross being introduced in the centre of the Harpole pavement, it is evident that it was laid down after the Christian religion became known to the Romano-British inhabitants. The field in which this pavement was found, is on the north side of the turnpike-road near the fourth mile-stone, and midway between the Watling-street road and Northampton. Harpole, in its etymology, may partake of a military origin in its first syllable, that is to say, from *Here*, signifying *host* or *army*. It may also be remarked, that Hoar-stone brook occurs at the adjoining village, Heyford. Morton¹ gives a plan and description of a mosaic pavement discovered there in 1699, in Hore-stone meadow.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. I.

THE following very curious poem on king Edward IV, is copied from a valuable manuscript of the fifteenth century, preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries:—

[*From MS. Bib. Soc. Antiq. 101, fol. 98.*]

To have in mynde callyng to remembrance
 The gret wrongys doon of oold antiquité,
 Unrugthful heyres by wrong alyaunce
 Usurpyng this royaume caused gret adversité :

¹ Natural History of Northamptonshire, with an Account of the Antiquities. Lond. 1712, fol. pp. 527-8.

Kyng Richard the seconde high of dignytee,
 Which of Ingeland was rightful inheritour,
 In whos tyme ther was habundaunce with plentee
 Of welthe and erthely joye without langour.

Than cam Henry of Derby by force and myght
 And undir the colour of fals perjury,
 He toke this rightwys kyng, Goddes trew knyght.
 And hym in prison put perpetuely,
 Pyned to deth alas ! ful pyteuxly ;
 Holy Bisshop Scrope, the blyssed confessour
 In that quarel, toke hys deth ful paciently,
 That all the world spak of that gret langour.

Whos deth ys a very trew evidence
 To all Inegland for the just title and lyne,
 Which for the trowthe by tyranny and violence
 Was put down and suspect holde venyrsyne (?) :
 Many a trew lord then put to mortel fyne,
 Alway they have ben aboute with rigour,
 The lynage of Kyng Richard to undermyne
 That longe have lyved in gret langour.

God smote the said Henry for hys gret fersnesse,
 With a lepre holdyng hym to hys ende fynally ;
 Next hym, Henry the Fyfte, of knyghtly prowesse,
 Named the best of that lyne and progeny.
 Howbeit, he regned unrightfully,
 3it he upheld in Ingeland the honeur ;
 Henry hys sone of Wy[n]desore, by gret foly,
 All hath retourned unto huge langour.

Callyng to mynde the fals engendred treson
 And myschyefts that were in hys dayes regnyng ;
 The good Duc of Gloucestrie in the season
 Of the parlement at Bury beyng
 Was put to deth, and ay sith gret mornyng,
 Hath ben in Ingeland with many a scharp schour ;¹
 Falshode, myschyeft, secret synne upholdyng,
 Which hath caused in Engeland endelez langour.

¹ Battle ; conflict.—Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaisms", p. 711.

Noo mervail though Engeland hath ben unhappy,
 Which hath be mysrewled ȝerys sertayne;
 Scripture saith heritage holdyn wrongfully
 Schal never cheve ne with the thred heyr remayne,
 As hath be verified late ful playne,
 Wheras iij. kynges have regned by errour;
 The third put ouzt, and the right brought agayn,
 Whos absence hath caused endlez langour.

Also Scripture saith, woo be to that regyon,
 Wheir ys a kyng unwyse or innocent,
 Moreovyr wys right a gret abusion,
 A woman of a land to be a regent,—
 Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hath ment
 To governe all Engeland with myght and pour,
 And to destroye the ryght lyne was her entent,
 Wherfor sche hath a fal to her gret langour.

And now sche wenight so that sche myght detain
 Though all Engeland were brought to confusyon,
 Sche and her wykked affynité certayne
 Entende uttyrly to destroye thys region;
 For with theym ys but deth and distruccion,
 Robberye and vengeance with all rygour,
 Therefore, all that holde of that oppynion,—
 God sende hem a schort ende with meche langour!

O it ys gretly agayn kynde and nature
 An Englyshman to corrumpe¹ hys awne nacion,
 Willyng straungiers for to recure,
 And in Engeland to have the domynacion,
 Wenying thanne to be gret of reputacion,
 Forsothe they that soo hope least schalbe theyr power;
 He that wold be high schalbe under subjecion,
 And the fyrst that schal repente the langour.

Wherfore, I lykken England to a gardeyn,
 Which that hath ben overgrowen many yere
 With wedys, which must be mowen down playn,
 And than schul the pleasant swete herbes appere;
 Wherfore, all trewe Englysh people, pray in fere
 For Kyng Edward of Rouen, our comfortour,
 That he kepe justice and make wedis clere,
 Avoydyng the blak cloudys of langour.

¹ To corrupt (A. N.).—See Halliwell, ib. p. 7. *Recure*, to recover, ib. p. 672.

A gret signe it ys that God lovyth that knyght,
 For all thoo that woold have destroyed hym utterly,
 All they ar myscheved and put to flyght;
 Than remembir hys fortune with chevalry,
 Which at Northampton gate the victory,
 And at Mortimers Crosse he had the honour;
 On Palme Sonday he wan the palme of glorye,
 And put hys enemyes to endelez langour;

And drave hys adversary ouzt of the lond,
 Aftyр cam to London and was crowned kyng;
 Rightlaie God ȝef hym grace to understonde,
 The fals traytours agayn hym ymagynyng.
 The prophecie saith, there schal dere hym noo thinge,
 He it ys that schal wyne castell toun and tour;
 All rebellyous undyr he schal hem brynge,
 Willyng to hys highnesse any langour

Richard the erl of Warwyk of knyghthode,
 Lodesterre born of a stok that evyr schalbe trewe,
 Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,
 Hath ay ben redy to helpe and reskewe;
 Kyng Edward in hys ryght hym to endewe
 The commens thereto have redy every houre;
 The voyx of the people, the voix of Jhesu,
 Who kepe and preserve hym from all langour!

Now blyssed Saint George, pray the virgen immaculat,
 To be good mediatrix, prayng her sonne,
 That Edward of Rouen may be victorieux and fortunat,
 With all the trew lordes of hys region,—
 That they may se a good way and direction,
 To make peas in Engeland, that riche and power
 May joyfully synge at the conclusyon,
 Welcom everlastyng joye, and farewell langour!

S. R.

1. CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF RANULF II, EARL OF CHESTER, FROM THE MUNIMENT-CHAMBER OF THE MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER, EATON HALL, CHESHIRE.
2. COMPACT BETWEEN RANULF DE BLONDEVILLE, EARL OF CHESTER, AND WILLIAM DE FOUGERES,—HARLEIAN CHARTER, BRITISH MUSEUM; WITH REMARKS,

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ.

By the great kindness of the marquis of Westminster, I have been enabled to lay before the Association an original document, of great interest to antiquaries in general, but more particularly to our friends at Chester. When in that city, during the Congress of 1849, the rev. Mr. Massie, of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, drew my attention to a passage in a Chester Guide-book, containing an account of an original charter, with the seal appended to it, of Hugh Lupus, first Earl Palatine of Chester, preserved in the muniment-room at Eaton Hall. Lord Westminster having most kindly given instructions that I should have access to that valuable collection, I lost no time in availing myself of such a permission to obtain a sight of the precious relic, so minutely described by the local historian, but at first without success. Eventually, however, it was discovered by Mr. Allen, of Eaton, and kindly brought to me at Chester, but unfortunately too late for proper examination and comment during the congress. Lord Westminster has since been so obliging as to have it sent up to town; and I had, therefore, the pleasure of exhibiting it to the society, and will now briefly call your attention to the principal points of interest contained in it. In the first place, we are enabled to correct an error into which the author of the local work alluded to had fallen, either from mis-information, or but a hasty glance over the document. It certainly contains a charter by the first Hugh, earl of Chester; but the instrument itself is not of that date. It is, in fact, a confirmation charter by the second Ranulf (surnamed de Gernon or Gernons), earl of Chester, in which the grant of Hugh is, as usual, recapitulated. But although not the great desideratum of all Cheshire archæologists, it possesses scarcely inferior claims on their admiration. I have

the authority of our erudite and excellent associate, Mr. Black, whose illustration of the records at Chester afforded us so much information and gratification, for stating, that he has never seen its parallel, either for beauty of handwriting or peculiarity of form, being written in columns or pages, for the facility of folding. The charter occupies nine, and commences with the copy of the original grant of "Hugone Cestrensi comite, anno ab incarnatione Domini milesimo nonagesimo" (the name and date which evidently caused the error above stated), to the abbey of St. Werburgh, which was witnessed by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, followed by the grants of several of the other witnesses—William Malbanc, Robert Fitz-Hugh, Richard de Vernon, etc. etc.; and it concludes by the confirmation of them all by the second Ranulf: ("Ego secundus Rannulfus comes Cæstrie concedo et confirmo has omnibus donationes quas mei antecessores vel barones cor'm dederunt"), with additional grants from himself, the witnesses being—Robert the Dapifer, Norman de Verdon, Robert Banaster, Gilbert de Venables, William Malbanc, William Fitz-Duncan, Cadwalader, king of North Wales ("Chadwaladro, rege Norwaliarum"), William de Mannilwarrin, Robert de Maci, and Simon his brother, Robert Fitz-Picod, "and many others".

As the charter will be copied and printed in the next number of the *Journal* of the Association, I will not occupy more time at present with its details, which are highly curious, and very valuable to history and biography, but must say a few words on the seals appended to it. The principal one, I regret to say, is utterly destroyed; only a few crumbling pieces can be felt in the bag which contained it; and as no information could be afforded by such minute fragments, I have scrupulously forbore to disturb them. It was, no doubt, the seal of Ranulf "secundus", or "junior", as he also calls himself, towards the conclusion; and we fortunately possess engravings of it from the original matrix, which was discovered in the great aisle of St. Edmondsbury, in 1774.—Vide *Journal*, vol. v, p. 240.

The other seal is perfect. It is of green wax, and exhibits a mounted warrior, with sword and shield, surrounded by the legend: "SIGILL BERTI D IN (?)". The

other letters are broken off or effaced. It may be the seal of Robert the Dapifer, or Gilbert de Venables; but the last two letters, which look like IN, are not at present reconcilable with either. There are three other Roberts, witnesses to the charter; but the terminations of Banaster,



Maci, and Fitz-Picod, are equally unpromising. Under the horse there is a floral ornament; but the shield is without device or mark of any description. Whether it was this seal or the one in the bag, at that period perhaps in better preservation, which the author of the local work describes, I have no means of ascertaining. Ranulf is represented on his seal on horseback, with a drawn sword, and therefore either would have suited the description. That it is the identical document alluded to, however, its peculiar pagination distinctly points out, and I am much indebted to the writer, as well as to the rev. Mr. Massie, for the indication of its existence. Whilst on this subject, I cannot do better than correct another error respecting

the seal of Hugh, first earl of Chester, which has long been current in the county, and received the sanction of the local press. In the glass case containing the splendid gold torques, kindly exhibited by the marquis of Westminster at the congress, was a very beautiful brass matrix of a seal, ticketed, "The seal of Hugh Lupus". An engraving of this seal is now before you, and you will perceive that it is a seal of the fifteenth, instead of the eleventh century; that it exhibits a shield, bearing a coat *fretty*, supported by two lions, and having, on a tilting helmet of the period, a demilion for a crest, circumscribed, as I read it, "S. (SIGILLUM) ADRIEN DE SALAVURT", or "SALECOURT". By what extraordinary stretch of imagination, or lack of investiga-



tion, this relic can have been attributed to Hugh Lupus, I am at a loss to conjecture; but as it has been recorded as such in the pages of local works, and was so exhibited at Chester, I take this opportunity of dissipating the illusion. I am sure you will all cordially join me in thanking the marquis of Westminster for the liberality with which he has placed the valuable charter, exhibited to you, in my hands, for the service of the Association; and now I have much pleasure in laying before you a copy of another highly interesting document, illustrative of the biography of the ancient earls of Chester, namely, a compact made, in the year 1200, between Ranulf, the third and last of that name, surnamed Blundeville, and William de Fougères, whose relative, Clemence de Fougères, the earl took for his second wife, she being the widow of Alan de Dinan. It has been printed by Mr. Ormerod, in the first volume of his *History of Cheshire*, as a portion of the prolegomena of sir Peter Leycester; but as there are several errors in that copy, and no comment upon its contents by the learned

editor, I presume its republication will be acceptable to the Association.

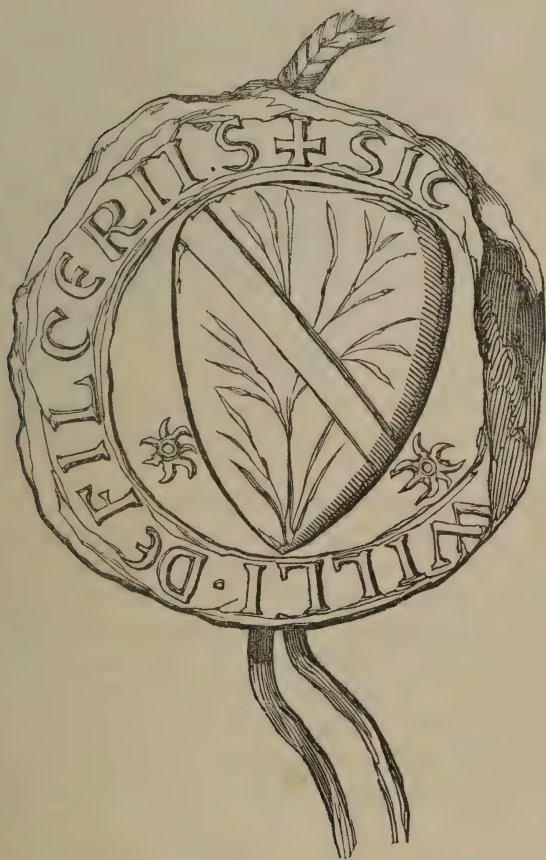
The original is amongst the Harleian charters in the British Museum, marked 52, A 15. It is called in the *Catalogue*, "A Pacification", and, in fact, contains the terms on which some dispute respecting the marriage-portion of the countess Clemence was settled between the parties. It commences: "Sciant omnes ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint quod contentio quæ fuit inter R. comitem Cestriencem et Willielmus de Filgeriis super maritagio Clemencia de Filgeriis uxoris prædicti comitis et *pronepotis* prædicti Willielmi hoc modo pacificata est"; and proceeds to state that the said William agrees to surrender to Geoffrey de Fougères, the brother of Clemence, all the lands of which Ralph de Fougères was seized, in the valley of Moreton, when they were given Alan de Dinan in marriage with the aforesaid Clemence, with certain exceptions afterwards rehearsed, amongst which is the patronage of the abbey of Savigné, misprinted Savierguen in *Ormerod*.

"Sciant omnes ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint quod contentio quæ fuit inter R. Comitem Cestriensem et Willielmum de Filgeriis super maritagio Clemenciæ de Filgeriis uxoris prædicti Comitis et pronepotis prædicti Willielmi hoc modo pacificata est: scilicet quod prædictus Willielmus reddidit Gaufrido de Filg. pronepoti suo ad dandum in maritagio cum Clemencia sorore sua, prædicto Comiti totam terram quam Radulphus de Filg. habuit in valle Moretonii, et sic de ea seisisus fuit anno et die quo eam dedit Alano de Dinam in maritagio cum prædicta Clemencia, excepto dominio abbatie Savigneii et exceptis LX solidis andegavensium quos idem Radulphus dedit Aeline nepti sue quæ est monialis apud Moret. habendos quam diu ipsa vixerit per manum servientis de Romeigneio, et post decessum ipsius monial. revertentur prædictæ C. et hæredibus suis. Et præterea dabit prædictus W. prædicto Com. centum libras Andeg. annuatim a natali Domini quod est anno verbi incarnati millesimo ducentesimo primo usque ad quinque annos in nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptiste solvendas. Præterea concessit prædictus W. prædicto Com. unum maritagium in denariis par taillie de Augusto habendum per totam terram Filg. excepta villa Filg. quæ combusta erat. Inter prædictum vero W. de Filg. et Gaufr. pronepotem suum hec est conventio per consilium amicorum ejusdem G. facta. Videlicet quod prædictus W. totam terram de Filg. sicut Radulphus de Filg. eam illi commisit fideliter custodiendam tenebit a prædicto natali usque in quinque annos. Et si quis ei super hoc contrariare aut eum vexare voluerit prædictus Com. et Willielmus

de Humet et alii amici Gaufridi et homines terre Filg. qui hanc conventionem fideliter tenendam juraverunt prædicto W. erit auxiliantes et consulentes pro posse suo. Completis autem quinque annis prædictis præfatus W. reddet prædicto G. pronepoti suo totam terram Filg. sine contradictione sicut Rads. de Filg. eam illi commisit custodiendam fideliter. Quam cum reddiderit idem G. quum a prædicto W. requisitus fuerit de jure suo terre Filg. per consilium amicorum utriusque partis et hominum terræ Filg., illi faciet quod facere debebit. Et si per consilium amicorum suorum et hominum terre inter se concordari non poterint, per judicium curie Domini Britannum sine contradictione illi faciet quod facere debebit. Et si alter uter illorum contra hoc venire voluerit, tam homines terræ Filgerii, quam amici utriusque partis auxiliantes erunt illi qui hanc conventionem tenere voluerit, et nocentes ei qui eam tenere recusaverit. Si autem contigerit C. uxorem prædicti Comit. Cestr. decedere infra quinque annos prædictos ipse Comes dicto Will.mo de Filg. terram de Valle Moret quiete reddet si de prædicta C. heredem non habuerit. Et si Galfr. de Filg. infra prædictos quinque annos decesserit, idem Willielmus terram Filg. integra et sine contradictione aliqua et absque termino Clemencie et . . . reddet et ipsa C. et sponsus ejus tenebunt prædicto Willielmo conventionem quam G. de Filg. et amici sui ei tenere debebant. Amplius Willielmus . . . nibus quoscunque posuerit in castello Filg. infra quinque annos jurare faciet, quod si ipsum in fata quiescere contigerit, ipsi . . . et Gaufro. de Filg. vel prædictæ C. sorori sue si ipsa ei superstes fuerit. Et in hac conventionem remanserunt . . . maneria in Angl. scilicet Tuiford et West Kinton que Radulphus de Filg. frater ejus illi dedit pro homagio suo et ser- . . . Radulfi legitime testantur et insuper eidem Willielmo remanet manerium de Belington quod fuit maritagium . . . contingit iure hereditario ex parte matris suæ. Has convenciones fecit Willielmus de Filg. ad Scaccarium apud . . . et C. uxore ejus et cum Willielmo de Hum. quem idem Com. et C. uxor sua loco suo assignaverunt . . . super hoc ageret ratum habituri, i præsentia Samsonis Abbatis Cad. et Hug. de Chaucu. et . . . Guiterie de Mota, et Decani Sancti Juliani tunc Justiciariorum Domini Regis. Has con . . . tam prædictus Com. Cestr. quam Willielmus de Filg., et ex parte Com. juraverunt isti, Hugo . . . Praer Petrus de Sancto Hilario. Petrus Roand. Ex parte Willielmi de Filg. juraverunt . . . ial Hervius de Vitreio. Gaufr. de Sancto Bricio. Willielmus de Sancto Bricio. et hoc ipsum ju . . . Ricc. de Fontenai. Ut autem hæ conventiones firme et inconcusse permaneant . . . or Com. Cestr. . . onest Norm. et Willielmi de Filg. et Alani filii Com. et Guidon de Laual confirmate. Actum est autem hoc nonis Octobris anno Incarnationis Domini m.cc.

To this compact, which contains much interesting matter connected with the family and estates of the seigneurs de Fougères, were formerly appended three seals, one of

which has disappeared; the two remaining are those of William de Fougères and Guy de Laval, one of the witnesses, misprinted "de Avall", in *Ormerod*. The latter exhibits no particularly interesting feature;¹ but the seal of William de Fougères is exceedingly curious. It is of green wax, and presents us with a heart-shaped shield, on which is engraved branches of fern, *Fougère*; such being the arms of the family of Fougères, as may be seen



by the seal of William de Fougères, engraved in Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne*, and also of the town of Fougères, to the present day; at least they are so given by Menes-

¹ There is a knight on horseback, with a plain shield; and on the secretum, or counter seal, is a lion passant.



trier, in the last century. In the case before us, the fern-stalks or branches are differenced or debruised by a bend or bendlet, affording us one of the earliest instances (perhaps the earliest) of this mark of cadency, for such I consider it. Clemence de Fougères is said, by Vincent and others, to have been the daughter of a William de Fougères; but père Anselm, in his *Histoire de la Maison de France*, and Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, state her to have been the daughter of Raoul (Ralph) de Fougères; and the William of this deed expressly uses the word "pronepos", both in speaking of her and her brother Geoffrey. The meaning of nepos and pronepos is very uncertain, it being applied to all sorts of relatives, from the grandchild to the cousin-german; it is mostly used, however, in mediæval documents, to signify the issue of a sister or brother, and I take this William de Fougères to be the uncle or great-uncle of Clemence and Geoffrey. It is, at least, evident he is not their father; and as no mention is made of another William, it may be worth inquiry whether his name was really William, or whether the Ralph de Fougères, who is mentioned as having given certain lands, in the valley of Morton, to Alan de Dinan, on his marriage with Clemence, was the father of that lady, as evidently considered by Lobineau and père Anselm.

I have had no time to make further inquiry. The seal has great interest as a very early heraldic authority. There is a blazing star of six points on each side of the shield, one of the badges of the house of Anjou, and seen upon several seals of our Anglo-Norman monarchs. Altogether, I think you will admit the charter of Ranulf the second, and the compact with Ranulf the third, additions to the archæological history of Chester and its earls; and I consider myself most fortunate in being the medium of this communication to our kind friends "on both sides of the Dee".

GRANT OF LEADENHALL BY MARGARET DE NEVILLE, EIGHTH
OF EDWARD II (1315); WITH REMARKS.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.



I LATELY had the honour to communicate the result of my inquiries respecting the misappropriated effigy in Worcester Cathedral (see p. 5 ante), which, I think, may now be undoubtedly considered that of Maud de Clifford, widow of William Longespee, and afterwards wife of lord John Gifford, of Brimsfield, in the county of Gloucester, who, surviving her, married, secondly, Margaret de Neuvil (Nevil), by whom he had issue John Gifford, who succeeded him in 1299, being at that time thirteen years of age. No pedigree or charter which I had hitherto met with, however, threw any light upon the identity of this Margaret de Nevil; but a few weeks ago, my attention was attracted by a seal of a Margaret de Nevil, attached to a document of the reign of Edward II, amongst the Add. Charters in the British Museum, marked L. F. C. XXIII. 16. On opening the deed, it proved to be a grant of certain property, in the city of

London, by the very lady I was interested about, to her son Hugh de Nevill, in the eighth year of Edward II (1315), and witnessed by her other son, issue by her second husband, sir John Gifford, of Brimsfield. By this grant, we learn, therefore, that Margaret de Neville was a widow when she married lord Gifford. That her first husband was of the branch of the Nevils of Essex, who bore *azure* a lion rampant *or*, and that the property which she hereby gave to her son Hugh de Nevil, was no less known a mansion and appurtenances than that of Leadenhall, affording us earlier information respecting that ancient locality than Stowe or Strype were able to hand down to us. The deed, which is in old French, runs as follows :

“ Conue chose soit a tote genz qe le dezime iour de Maii en le an du regn. le Roy Edward fiz le Roy Edward vtisme Acouint entre Dame Margaret de Neuill dune pt. et Hugh de Neuill soun fiz dautre pt., Isint (?) qe lauand dyt Dame Margaret ad bayle et graunte a lauaunt dyt Hugh sun hostel et majssouns oue le Gardyn rentes et totes autres choses apurtinaunz al dyt. hostel en la uile de Loundr. quest appelle la Sale de Plum suz Cornhulle A auoir et tener lauaunt dyt hostel et maissons oue le Gardyn rentes et totes autres choses apurtinaunz al dyt hostel a lauaunt dyt Hugh a terme de sauie, Salve alauant dyte Dame Margaret les auouesons de les eglises en ladyte ville de Loundr. a tote sauie qe sunt portinanz al dyst hostel. Et sy auingne qe lauand dyt Hugh se lesse morir auant la dyte Dame Margaret : dounz le auant dyt hostel oue totes les apurtenautes cu. suz est nomee, saunz nul conterdyt des heys assignez ou exsiccuteurs lauaunt dyt Hugh retourne enterement alauant dyt dame Margaret al terme de sa vie. Et apres le deces lauand dyte dame Margaret le dyt hostel oue totes les apurtenautes de suz nomez ensemblem oue les auouesons de les eglises de demouerge a les heys le dyt Hugh a touziours. En tesmoynance des ques choses a cest. escript. endente entrechaungablem. les parties auant nomez. onnt. mys la prente de lour seals. Ayces tesmoignes Sire Johan Gifford de Brimesfeud, Sire Joh. de Wyllington, Sire Henr. de Wyllington, Jon. de Bureford, Robt. Psōn., Thomas Palmer, Johan Barbour, et autres. Don. a Boyton en Wyltes. le iour et le an auāt nomez.

The first notice we have of Leadenhall, in Stowe, is dated 1309. “The next,” he says, “is Leadenhall, of which I read that, in the year 1309, it belonged to sir Hugh Nevil, knight of Essex.” Now, he does not tell us where he read that; and we find, by Margaret de Nevil’s

grant, that she did not give it to sir Hugh before the year 1315. It is probable, however, if Stowe did not mistake the date, that Hugh Nevil might be residing there. It could not have been his father; for Margaret de Nevil was the widow of her second husband in 1299, and must have lost her first husband before 1286. Stowe goes on to say: "That the lady Alice, his (that is, sir Hugh's) widow, made a feofment thereof by the name of Leadenhall, with the advowsons of the church of St. Peter on Cornhill, and other churches, to Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, 1362"; thus showing that, in strict accordance with the grant of Margaret, the advowsons especially excepted by her, during her life, had passed, with the rest of the estate, to sir Hugh de Nevil, at her decease, and to his heirs for ever. The feofment made by the first Alice to lord Arundel was confirmed, in the year 1380, by another Alice Nevil, widow to sir John Nevil, of Essex, to Thomas Cogshall and others.

In the year 1384, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, had the said manor; and in the year 1408, Robert Rikeden, of Essex, and Margaret his wife, confirmed to Richard Whittington, and other citizens of London, the said manor of Leadenhall, with the appurtenances, the advowsons of St. Peter's church, St. Margaret Pattens, etc.; and, lastly, in the year 1411, the said Whittington and others confirmed the same to the mayors and commonalty of London, whereby it came to the possession of the city."—*Stowe*, vol. i, p. 84. The same industrious antiquary further informs us, "that there was a house close by Leadenhall, called the London porch, and divided into two tenements, one of which, a cook's house, retained the name. This, with a large garden, house, and chapel, on the west side of Lime-street, was all the property of the Nevils in Edward I's time." "The garden," says Stowe, "is now the green-yard of the Leadenhall." From this mention of the leaden porch, in conjunction with the French appellation "*la salle de plomb*", we may presume that the mansion obtained its name from some particular use of lead in its construction, and in those days, when London was nearly all built of wood, was distinguished for its leaden roofs, goutieres, water-spouts, etc. Another curious point of inquiry arises respecting this branch of the great family of Nevil, the

genealogical history of which is exceedingly confused in Dugdale, and may be illustrated by the document before us.

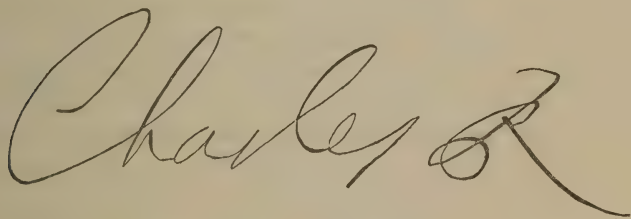
We have no knowledge of the name of sir Hugh's father, the first husband of this Margaret, nor of whose family she was herself; but it is evident how Leadenhall, and the adjacent property, came into the possession of the Nevils of Essex, from the following fact, stated by Dugdale, on the authority of a pipe roll of the fourth of king John, in which it is stated that Hugh (son and heir of Ralph Nevil, founder of the priory of Hoton, in Com. Ebor.) gave one hundred marks for the heir of Richard de Cornhill, a rich citizen of London, whom he afterwards married; and by a confirmation grant of his son John, of Thornden, which his father had given to the canons of Waltham, in Essex, we find her name was Joan. This John died before the fourth of Henry III (1220); for his widow Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Robert de Meynil, in that year, re-married Ralph Musard, who, if we may trust Dugdale, must have been her third husband; for he tells us she was, when John Nevil married her, "the widow of Sewall, the son of Henry progenitor of the Shirleys." An Isabel de Musard was the first wife of Elias Gifford, of Brimsfield; but as she brought him three daughters, it is scarcely possible she could be a daughter of Isabel de Meynil; she must either have been that dauntless widow herself, who was for the third time a widow in 1230, or there must have been an Isabel de Musard not mentioned in any pedigree of that family. By the proofs of the Freschville family, published in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, it appears that this Ralph Musard had a sister, whose name is not mentioned. She is simply called the daughter of Hasculf Musard, and Johanna his wife, in a pipe roll of the thirty-first of Henry II, 1185, the date of her father's death.

I shall feel much obliged to any one who can furnish me with any information on these points, equally interesting to our London, Gloucester, and Worcester Associates, and shall now conclude with directing your attention to a copy of the seal of Margaret de Nevil, attached to the grant I have described to you (page 139 ante). It is of green wax, and presents us with the figure of the donor

in the costume of the early part of the fourteenth century. On her robe or super-tunic, as well as on a shield on her right hand, are the arms of Gifford of Brimsfield—*gules*, three lions passant regardant, *argent*. On the left of the figure is another shield, with the lion rampant of the Nevils of Essex, above which is apparently some leaf or flower. The only portion of the legend remaining is "S. MARG."

WARRANTS UNDER THE KING'S SIGN MANUAL, DIRECTED TO
CAPTAIN WILLIAM FASBY, COMMANDER OF THE KING'S
YACHTS, THE CHARLES AND THE CLEAVELAND, 1673-78.

VICE-ADMIRAL SYKES, of Castle Hill, Inglefield Green, an eminent naval officer, and one of the intrepid crew who, with the celebrated Vancouver, engaged in the voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the world in 1790-5, has in his possession a very fine model of a royal yacht, and kindly shewing the same to me, produced also a manuscript book containing eight warrants, directed to the commander Fasby, of which the following is a summary account:—

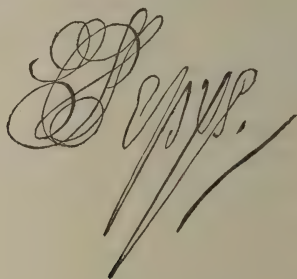
A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles R." The letters are fluidly connected, with a prominent flourish at the end of the "R".

1. Our wish and pleasure is, That you saile with our yacht under yo^r comand unto Rye, and there receive on board the Earle of Sandwich, with his company, goods, and servants, and transport him unto Diepe; and having landed him there, you are to returne with our yacht to Greenwich, For which this shallbe yo^r warrant. Given at our

court at Whitehall, this eighteenth day of September 1673.

To Captⁿ. Faseby, comander of our
yacht the Cleaveland.

By his Ma^{ts} comand,



2. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before. To proceed to Calais, to attend for, and to receive on board, the lord Douglas, together with his company, baggage, servants, etc., and bring him into such port in England as he shall desire. Dated, Whitehall, Jan. 11, 1674.

3. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before. To sail to Rye, and there receive on board the lady Henrietta Hyde, together with her company, goods, and servants, and transport her unto such port in France as she shall direct. He is ordered to continue four days for the bringing back such persons as the lady Henrietta Hyde shall order, and thence return to Greenwich. Dated from "Our Honour, of Hampton Court", July 3, 1674.

4. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before. To take under protection the two yachts lately built at Portsmouth by sir Anthony Deane, one of the commissioners of the navy, together with what other things he shall put on board relating to the said yachts, which he is to deliver at Havre de Grace, for the use of "our good brother the most Christian king"; and with the first opportunity to proceed in company with "our ship, the Greyhound", to give them convoy unto Havre de Grace, where having seen them in safety, he is directed to send the Greyhound to the Downs, and then to return to Portsmouth, there to receive further orders from sir Anthony Deane, in order to the transporting him to Havre de Grace. "Given at our court, at Hampton Court", July 21, 1675.

5. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before. To receive on board the yacht at Portsmouth, the lady Goreing, together with her company, etc., and to transport her to Diepe, and thence to return to Portsmouth. "Given at our court, at Windsor", Sept. 1, 1675.

6. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before, directed to Capt. Faseby, commander of our yacht, y^e Charles:—

"Whereas, by our order of y^e 12th of May last, you are appointed with our yacht under your comand to transport y^e marquise de Bethune, with her company, baggage, and servants, to Dantzick; our will and pleasure is, That in passing by y^e castle of Cronenbourg, you doe upon no consideration whatsoever strike your topsaile, but salute the said castle, according to the agreem^t on that behalfe, made at Copenhagen y^e 31st Octo^r. 1671 (a copie whereof, attested by S^r Joseph Williamson, kn^t., one of our principall Secretarys of State, is herewith given you), by which it is agreed, that our ships soe saluting, shall be answered by a salute from y^e said castle, according to custome. And our further will and pleasure is, That in case of meeting with any of y^e ships of warr of our good brother the king of Denmark, within the Baltick Sea, wearing a flag (and not otherwise), you are, in passing by, to salute the said shipp, or shippes, soe wearing flaggs, in expectation of your being re-saluted by them in like manner, according to custome. And, lastly, whereas wee are informed that a certaine vessell belonging to our subjects, called the Fame of Yarmouth, whereof Thom. Paris is master, is taken up for y^e transporting of goods from the port of Diepe, in France, into y^e Baltick Seas, on behalfe and acco^t of y^e king of Poland, wth purpose of being dispatched, soe as to sett forth on her said voyage, in company of our said yacht; our will and pleasure is, That for y^e better security of said vessell and goods, you doe (wind and weather permitting) take the said vessell into yo^r company, and keep her soe during yo^r said voyage; giving her what countenance and proteccion therein you can, without ingaging yo^r self in any acts of hostility, or violence, on that behalfe. And for so doing, this shall be yo^r warrant. Given at our court, at Whitehall, this 1st day of June 1676."

7. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before, direct-

ing Capt. Faseby to proceed unto Diepe, where being arrived, he is permitted to continue 4 days, after the 21st inst., and in case the lady Goreing shall arrive there within that time, to receive her on board, together with her company, etc., and convey her to Rye or Portsmouth, as she shall desire. Thence to return to Greenwich. But should she not arrive at Diepe within the time named, he is to forthwith return to the river Thames. Dated from Whitehall, May 9, 1677.

8. Warrant, signed and countersigned as before, directing Capt. Faseby to receive on board the earl of Feversham, together with his company, baggage, etc., and proceed to the Brill, or such port in Holland, or Flanders, as he shall desire, where having put him on shore, he is directed to put in execution such orders as the earl shall give for his further stay there, or returning back. Dated from Whitehall, July 18, 1678.

In an account of commissions granted to capt. Wm. Fasby, bound up with the preceding warrants, it appears that Mr. Secretary Pepys' name was pronounced Pippis, it being in three instances spelt in that way.

T. J. PETTIGREW.

Proceedings of the Association.

APRIL 3, 1850.

GEORGE MILNER, esq., F.S.A., of Hull, exhibited a drawing of the sculptures on the font of Kirburn, near Driffild; the upper series of which related to baptism and other Christian subjects; whilst the latter one appeared to be illustrative of some ancient romance, probably that of *Reynard the Fox*. Referred for further consideration.

Messrs. Lawes, of Monkwell-street, Cripplegate, exhibited some tiles, found in excavating beneath their house, which is situate about fifty feet south of the Barber Surgeons' Hall. It is probable, that these tiles may have belonged to the chapel of St. James, which formerly stood near the north end of this street.

Mr. David Falcke exhibited a beautifully carved ivory comb of considerable size, and evidently a production of the fourteenth century.

Nathaniel Gould, esq., F.S.A., exhibited thirty-one Roman coins, being portion of a quantity said to have amounted to 130 lbs. in weight, turned up by the plough, in a field about eight miles north-west of Brest, during the last summer. They are reported to have been found in an earthen vase, the pottery of which resembled the old pottery of the district. The specimens exhibited were presented to Mr. Gould by sir Anthony Perrier, H.M. consul at Brest, who, hearing of the discovery, was fortunate enough to secure about 30 lbs. weight. Sir Anthony endeavoured to find the appearance of Roman works, but the spade-work effectually prevented him. A necklace and beads, and some small bronze ornaments, one of a bell-shape, are, however, reported to have been found. Mr. C. R. Smith delivered the following report of his examination of the coins:—

“They are all the third brass and billon, of Gallienus and Salonina, A.D. 253 to A.D. 258.

GALLIENUS.

Style.—1. Gallienus Aug.—2. Imp. C. Gallienus Aug.—3. Imp. C. P. Lic. Gallienus Aug.—4. Gallienus P. F. Aug.

Reverses.

1. Apollini. Cons. Aug.	A griffin	-	-	-	-	-	1
2. Idem.	A centaur	-	-	-	-	-	1
3. Dianæ Cons. Aug.	A stag	-	-	-	-	-	1
4. Idem.	A stag, with head turned	-	-	-	-	-	1
5. Libero Cons. Aug.	A panther	-	-	-	-	-	1

6. Neptuno Cons. Aug.	A centaur, holding a rudder	-	-	-	-	1
7. Soli Cons. Aug.	Pegasus	-	-	-	-	1
8. Æquitas Aug.	Type of Equity, standing	-	-	-	-	1
9. Fortuna Aug.	Fortune, with rudder and cornucopia	-	-	-	-	1
10. Fides Militum.	A woman, standing, holding a military standard in one hand ; in the other, a cornucopia	-	-	-	-	1
11. Abundantia Aug.	A woman, pouring fruits from a cornucopia	-	-	-	-	1
12. Marti Pacif.	Mars Pacifer, standing, holding an olive branch and spear	-	-	-	-	1
13. Securitas Aug.	Security, leaning on a column ; in the field the letter N.	-	-	-	-	2
14. Pietas Aug.	A woman, with hands extended, standing by an altar	-	-	-	-	2
15. Pax Aug.	Peace, standing	-	-	-	-	1
16. Virtus Aug.	A soldier, holding an olive branch and a spear	-	-	-	-	1

The three of larger size—denarii.

17. Jovi Conserva.	Jupiter, standing	-	-	-	-	1
18. Germanicus Max. V.	A trophy and captives	-	-	-	-	1
19. Salus Aug.	A figure, standing, leaning on a staff, round which a serpent is twined	-	-	-	-	1

SALONINA.—Reverses.

20. Juno Cons. Aug.	A stag	-	-	-	-	1
21. Juno Regina.	A female figure, standing, holding a globe and the hasta pura	-	-	-	-	1
22. Juno Aug.	A female, seated in a chair, holding a child in her arm	-	-	-	-	1
23. Fecunditas Aug.	A woman, with a child in her arm	-	-	-	-	1
24. Pietas Aug.	A woman, standing by an altar	-	-	-	-	1
25. Venus Victrix ; in the exergue, ms.	Venus, standing, holding a helmet and spear ; behind her, a shield	-	-	-	-	2
26. Venus Victrix.	The same, with spear held horizontally, and the shield on the left side	-	-	-	-	3

"I have described these coins minutely to shew the variety of types. It is true, they are all well known and common ; but among so many thousands, it is very probable there may have been at least a few unpublished varieties, which would have well repaid their investigation. An examination of a great number of coins thus discovered in a mass, is always sure to be attended with some scientific result ; but, unfortunately, it is extremely seldom that such *trouvailles* find their way to the table of the numismatist. Even the specimens before us, trite and common as they are, are replete with information, and curiously suggestive of inquiry into the mythological tenets of the ancients.

"It would be useful to know if the hoard consisted *entirely* of coins of Gallienus and Salonina. If so, they must have been buried shortly after they were minted, probably on some occasion of alarm, during the transmission of the money to some of the provincial soldiers."





4



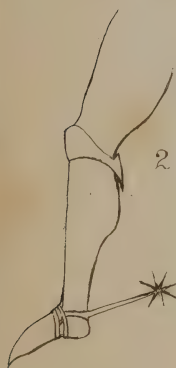
5



6



3



2



1

A. H. Burdett F.S.A.
Sc. 1250

Pl XVII



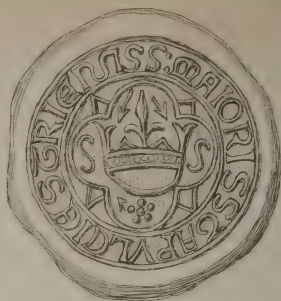
PLATE XVIII



1.



2.



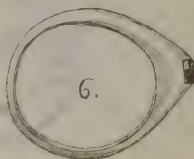
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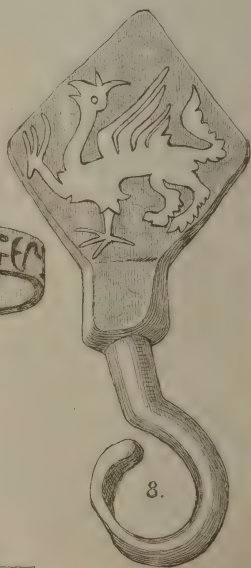
7.



9.



10.



8.

SIGGEICHE'S MEAL EYVIRKAN: 11.

Chas Baily FSA.

A. C. Kirkmann, esq., exhibited a beautiful ivory carving of the thirteenth century, and made some observations on the wearing of the prickspur. For these, see p. 123 ante, and plate xiv.

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited a manuscript volume belonging to admiral Sykes, consisting of a series of warrants relating to the royal yachts in the time of Charles II, and bearing the sign manual of the king, and also that of the secretary of the admiralty, Samuel Pepys. For these, and fac-similes of the signatures, see pp. 143-5 ante.

Mr. Edwards, of Red Cross-street, exhibited the impression of a bronze seal, representing a crown between two letters S; beneath it a rose, and circumscribed "S. Majoris Stapulæ Ciestriensis".—See plate xviii, fig. 3.

George Isaacs, esq., exhibited a cane of Venetian enamel, of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, called Schmelze, varied with mille fiore.

Nathaniel Gould, esq., F.S.A., exhibited six Burmese, or Chinese, figures, cut in steatite, and which in many respects resembled the porcelain figures occasionally found in Ireland.

Charles Ainslie, esq., laid before the Society a large collection of arms, principally consisting of daggers and arrow-heads, found in the Thames whilst digging for the foundation of the new Houses of Parliament. Also several early keys and other antiquities found on the site of Eaton-square. Some of these will be found represented on plate xvii, figs. 4, 5, 6.

Mr. M. A. Lower, of Lewes, exhibited an instrument in bronze, ornamented with representations of grotesque animals biting each other. It appears to have been the handle of a knife.

James Thompson, esq., of Leicester, forwarded an interesting account of Leicester abbey and its ancient remains.—See pages 116-122 ante, and plate xiii.

John Rooke, esq., of Akehead, and the rev. W. Pattinson, communicated an account of an entrenchment, in which were two enclosures, near the line of the Roman wall from Bowness to Wallsend, two miles from Dykesfield, called Faulsteads, and which appear to have been used as places of refuge for flocks, etc., from the incursions of the borderers in after times. Also a drawing of a portion of a Roman altar, found in the same neighbourhood. These communications were referred for further consideration.

Charles Ade, esq., of Alfriston, communicated a few particulars relating to the discovery of a Roman road between Lewes and Pevensey castle, concerning which further inquiries were directed to be made.

Wm. Rolfe, esq., of Sandwich, exhibited a silver cochlear, found at the landing-place, Richborough castle, March 30, 1850, for a representation of which, full size, see plate xviii, figs 1, 2.

Dr. William Bell read a paper on the contents of a parchment roll



measuring $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and 12 inches in breadth, exhibited by Joseph Mayer, esq., F.S.A., of Liverpool, at the Chester Congress. From a collation of it, with some fragments published by Hearne, at Oxford, in 1719, Dr. Bell pronounced the manuscript to be the Chronicle by Thomas Sprott, who lived in the thirteenth century. It is probably unique, as no complete copy is to be found, either in the Cottonian or the Harleian collections, and deserves to be printed entire. Enlarged drawings of some of the illuminations with which the roll is illustrated, were exhibited, and from the cross-legged figure of Brute, Dr. Bell was induced to give some new views concerning that peculiar position of some of our monumental effigies, illustrating the subject by some legal customs formerly observed in Germany.

APRIL 17, 1850.

Mr. S. Redfern exhibited three Roman coins, found on the site of a Roman villa, near Droitwich. They are of Vespasian, Lucius, Ælius, and Commodus. The first is in second brass; reverse, *Securitas Augusti*, s.c. The second, in first brass; reverse, a figure of Hope, s.c.; legend effaced. The third, first brass; reverse, *Liberalitas*, four figures.

Mr. Wm. Edwards exhibited a large collection of pennies of the last coinage of Henry II, selected from above two thousand, lately found in Bedfordshire. With them were also a few of William and Alexander of Scotland. These coins were formerly given to Henry III.

J. R. Planché, esq., F.S.A., communicated the following observations on a spur, dagger, and arrow-heads, exhibited at the previous meeting by Charles Ainslie, esq.:—"The spur is of the middle of the fifteenth century, *tempore* Henry VI (see plate xvii, fig. 1). In Skelton's engravings from the Meyrick Collection, is an equestrian figure of St. George, sculptured on an ivory cross-bow of German manufacture (date, *circa* 1450, see fig. 2), wearing such a spur; and in the same work will be found two original spurs of that period, one five inches, the other seven inches long in the shank; the first having a rowel of eight points, and the second one of six. The great length of the shank was necessary, in consequence of the mode of barding or caparisoning the horse, whose sides could not have been reached with a shorter spur; vide the figures in plates CLXXIV, CLXXV, CLXXVI, of Montfaucon, *Monarchie Française*, engraved from the splendid MS. of Gilles le Bonnier, bevis herald to Charles VII, of France; all of whom wear these long spurs (see fig. 3, of the Count de Samcere). In the following reign of Edward IV, in England, the difficulty was obviated by curving the shank and lengthening the spikes of the rowels.

"The dagger (fig. 4) appears to be of the early part of the sixteenth century, the guard being of a fashion dating from the reign of Henry VII

to that of Elizabeth; a period with which the shape of the shield, engraved upon the blade, will also correspond.

"The upper portion of the blade has been rudely, but elaborately, engraved and gilt on both sides: on one, is an equestrian figure of St. George spearing the dragon; and immediately behind the saint, a plain St. George's cross: on the other side, is the shield before mentioned, charged with the letters I.H.S., and surmounted by a crown. The ornamentation of a portion of this side has been destroyed by corrosion. A border of scroll-work terminates the engraving, and a short distance above it, on each side, is a crowned X, in gold, most probably the initial of the holy name of the Redeemer.

"The same collection presents us with a couple of iron arrow-heads (see figs. 5 and 6), or indeed one may have been the head of a small pike or javelin, the dates uncertain."

James Thompson, esq., exhibited the impression from a gold coin recently found in Leicester. One peculiarity of it consists in its being composed of two plates, the edges of one overlapping that of the other. Around the effigies of the emperor, we read DN. HONORIVS P. F. AVG., and on the reverse, VICTORIA AVGG.; in the exergue, CONOB.; on the field, M. C. (?) A piece of pottery and several tesserae were found with the coin. On one of the pieces of pottery was inscribed OFFACER, which was probably intended for *officinâ Aceri* or *Ageri*.

Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, of Plymouth, forwarded an enamelled badge of copper, and of a beautiful green. The dragon, represented on each side, is in white enamel. It is figured of the full size, in plate XVIII, fig. 8.

Mr. John Adkins Barton, of the Isle of Wight, transmitted the following letter to Mr. C. R. Smith:—"I have much pleasure in sending to you a set of the coins found at Mr. Perress's, which the friendship of that gentleman has placed at my disposal. Within these few weeks, nearly two thousand of these coins have been sent to me, and I have, at leisure, examined and reviewed them individually, without any change of my opinion as to what they are, or the time of their deposit. You will find types of four different kinds belonging to London and Canterbury,—Edw., Edwa., Edwar., and Edward,—but not of the other mintages, which are sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other. Of the Edward type, I have not found fifty altogether in all the mintages; and I am very strongly inclined to think all these four varieties appertain to the two first Edwards alone, and that *none* are of the third Edward, in which I am strongly borne out by the contemporary coins of Alexander III and John Baliol, of which class there are about fifty or sixty coins, and but one of Robert I (which I have only by hearsay, not having seen it); also by the Flemish count, of which class there are, perhaps, three or four dozen, including Namur, Brussels, Mons, Alost, Luni, (?) Porcien, and others. I cannot concur in the re-

marks of Mr. Bergne (see *Journal*, vol. v, p. 378), as to these foreign coins (at least such as I see in this hoard). I affirm them to be true and good money, as the variety of their workmanship proves; some have buildings, some heraldic or armorial bearings, some crowned heads, some heads uncrowned, and all are as unlike, as they possibly can be, in their fabrication and style, to the current sterlings of the Edwards. Mr. B.'s suggestions are very ingenious, but they fall to the ground before these pieces of money, which bear their own evidence as to their authenticity. Indeed, it should be asked, why are we to suppose the Flemings (then a great commercial people) sunk so low as to have no better occupation than counterfeiting our money? Are we to suppose that they had no currency of their own? or is there anything very extraordinary in the supposition that specimens of their money might occasionally find their way to England? I am not inclined to think so. Since I last wrote to you on this subject, the only very rare or valuable coin contained in this hoard, as far as my judgment goes, has been put into my hands by a gentleman of Newport, who had purchased it of one of the boys of the town (no doubt one of those carried off by the workmen), and he has since deposited it in the museum attached to the institution. It is a very perfect halfpenny of the Dux Aquitaine type, and in excellent condition.—I will make one or two further remarks on coins I have lighted on, and then conclude. Amongst the London type, I met with eight or nine having EDW. REX ANG., etc., of which you will find an example pretty perfect—a somewhat singular manner of placing the title. I also met with one coin having EDVV R'R' ANG, etc. Can this be any imitation of the Roman AVGG.? Edward III was proclaimed king during the lifetime of his father; and may this not relate to the fact that there were two kings of England of the same name? It is not a bungled coin, but very clear, and the two R's particularly so. A few mint-marked coins turned up. Of Durham, the cross moliné, and the crozier; of York, the cross, with the quatrefoil in the centre; and of London, one having a dot before the name of the city; but they were very limited in number. The GUIDO EPISCOPVS, on a closer examination, turned out to be of Cambray. Mr. Hearn mentions a London halfpenny and a Ludovicus; but nothing of the kind occurred to me, the great mass of the coins being of the usual types, with the exceptions I have pointed out, and these, all included,—Scotch, Flemish, Montmartre, etc.,—did not exceed one hundred in the whole three or four thousand coins."

Upon the preceding, J. B. Bergne, esq., F.S.A., has favoured the Association with the following remarks:—"I ought, before now, to have returned Mr. Barton's letter; I now, however, enclose it, with many thanks for the perusal. He has examined the coins, found in the Isle of Wight, with the patience and skill of a well-practised numismatist; and I hope he will not think that I intended any disparagement of his labours by those

remarks of mine, which were printed in the *Journal*, vol. v, page 378. Now, as to the foreign sterlings, it is, if I mistake not (for I do not pretend to pronounce on a matter to which I have never paid much attention), considered at least doubtful whether such of these pieces as closely imitate the type of English and Scottish coins of the period, were really struck by order of the petty princes whose names they bear, or whether they were mere private speculations. That the object of the close imitation in question was to obtain for such pieces a concurrent circulation with the veritable English pieces, seems, I think, abundantly clear, especially when it is considered that even such an exceptional type as that of the Irish coins of Edward was closely imitated, as well as the English type. Of course the charge of *counterfeiting* can only apply to those coins in which the English type was thus closely imitated. Within the last week or two, I have heard of another and most remarkable instance of the imitation or counterfeiting of an English type. Mr. Thomsen, of Copenhagen, has sent to Mr. Akerman drawings of some coins lately found in Denmark, which at first glance would be taken for pennies of Henry III, type, Ruding, plate II, No. 18; but, on examination, the obverse legends are "Henricus Comes," "Salve Reginam," etc. The reverse, if I remember right, in one instance is here with a moneyer's name; but the others were unintelligible to me. I conceive that these pieces were also struck with a view to secure to them a circulation among true English coins. If it ever happens that I should have the opportunity of examining any large quantity of these foreign sterlings which may turn up, I might, by comparing their weight with true English coins, and by other circumstances, be able to offer a more decided opinion whether the striking of them was a venture of the prince or of an individual. Supposing the prince struck them, his seignorage or profit of mintage would benefit by the extent to which he could push the circulation of his coins; in fact, even supposing his imitation was of as good silver and as full weight as the real English coin, the Flemish count would, to the extent to which his pieces circulated here, get the mint-profit, instead of the English king, and that seems a fraudulent motive.

"I cannot think that the occurrence of R'R' on one of the Isle of Wight coins, is anything more than a blunder. Examples are known where London is spelt *Dondon*, the syllables of *Civitas* misplaced, and the like."

MAY 1.

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, Suffolk, exhibited a Saxon silver ring (see plate XVIII, fig. 10), bearing the characters represented in fig. 11, SIGERIEHET MEA GEWIRCAN, which probably may be read as Sigerihet had me made or wrought. It is likely to be as early as the ninth or

tenth century. In reply to a suggestion that it had been cast, Mr. Warren has observed, that he is ready to admit that, as far as it regards the ring itself, but not as to the characters inscribed on it. He states, that if the metal is examined with the point of a graver, or any very sharp instrument, instead of cutting a tough shaving, it crumbles before the instrument used; and he has found this to be the case also with many very old silver coins which have lain long in the earth. He conceives this to be a proof of the genuine antiquity of the ring. No history unfortunately attaches to it, for it was purchased of a travelling dealer, who said he did not know where it came from.

Mr. George Isaacs exhibited the ornamented side of a book, the enamel on it representing St. James, and being the work of the twelfth century; whilst the metal-work was of a later date, and including gems, crystals, and an intaglio, probably antique.

Mr. Isaacs also exhibited the upper part of a book-cover, with ivory carving, of the Ascension. This was of the eleventh century.

Mr. Christopher Lynch exhibited several pennies of Edward the Confessor, Harold II, and William I, found at St. Mary-at-hill, in 1774.

Mr. Samuel Pratt exhibited a sword of the time of Henry V. This was referred for future consideration.

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew produced some moulds for casting Roman coins. They had been found at a Roman station, situate at Lingwell-nooke, Wakefield-out-Wood, Yorkshire, and are so formed, that, when fitted together, the melted metal could be poured into many at one time.

Mr. David Falcke exhibited a remarkably beautiful jug of cut ruby glass, of the seventeenth century, with silver mounting of the same period.

Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt presented some drawings of Roman pottery, found in the area of the station at Alchester, Oxfordshire, by the rev. W. L. Brown. Some of the fragments were interesting, and the subject was referred for future inquiry. The rev. Mr. Brown kindly forwarded the following note with the drawings:—"I should have replied before to your letter, had I not wished to take advantage of a few fine days, before the farmer crops his ground, to explore a small portion of Alchester, which has hitherto been accessible. I am sorry to say the plough has now overtaken us, so that, for the present, all further operations must be abandoned. Excepting traces of building, walls, etc., we have not found much. The accompanying sheet contains the best copies I can execute, of whatever seemed curious in the way of pottery. I have given the outlines of six specimens of mortaria, two of which strike me as larger than I have usually seen. The curves (traced from the outer rim) will show the size, the figures indicating to which each curve belongs; the piece unnumbered is remarkable for a very close studding of the quartz, almost to the edge of the vessel. Nos. 1, 2, and 3, are of coarse whitish clay (Nos. 1 and 2 very

coarse); No. 4, pale red, with a yellowish coating; No. 5, fine red, without quartz. There are also some fragments, which were not worth drawing, of a fine red *glazed* outside, with quartz; and a coarser red, showing the blue clay in the middle, and yellow outside, with quartz. At the bottom of the same page, I have given two sections of a piece of stone, found at Alchester. The smaller end towards it is conical, gradually flattened towards the other end till it becomes sharp, and polished on one side, while it is rough on the other. The stone is something like granite. It has occurred to me that such a thing might have been used for bruising *boiled* grain in these mortaria, the quartz pebbles serving to grind it. I have never seen anything like a pestle, nor any vessels strong enough to bear blows sufficient for the trituration of dry corn.

"I have also sent specimens of various pottery, showing at least how many different moulds must have been used for what you tell us is the Samian (the figures are of an Egyptian character), and exhibiting a pretty outline of the ivy-leaf pattern, as well as a portion of the potter's stamp in No. 2. No. 8 is the *under* side of a bowl, with part of the ring on which it stood, I fear very unintelligibly drawn. No. 11 is in very high relief; 9, merely coloured; 10, deeply grooved between the diagonal ribs. The lower, No. 6, belongs rather to the other page.

"The plate of sections sent me (see plate v, in the last Number of the *Journal*) will be valuable in classing what I may hereafter find; but has the *material* been attended to? for I believe the shape of the rim must depend much upon the tenacity and stiffness of the clay."

J. R. Planché, esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the origin of certain armorial bearings, in which he showed that interesting, historical, and genealogical facts, may be substituted for the wild legends and absurd tales intended to account for their assumption. This paper will appear in a future Number of the *Journal*.

Thomas Lott, esq., F.S.A., exhibited some Roman coins of Gordianus II and III, Hadrian, Trajan, Antoninus, and Aurelianus, found during an excavation for a drain in the upper part of Cheapside.

Charles Baily, esq., F.S.A., described an ampulla of lead, now in the museum at York, for which see p. 125 ante, and plate xv, in illustration of the same.

Mr. Purland made some observations on four gilt metal candelabra, upwards of ten feet in height, which are placed before the altar in the cathedral of St. Baron, at Ghent, one of which is represented in the *Historic Reliques*, by Mr. J. M. Williams. The notice accompanying this representation extends not beyond a tradition, that the four candelabra had been once the property of Charles I. Mr. P. remarked, that on that part of the shaft rising above the vase, were the arms of England. Above the arms is the badge of the Tudor roses, the red and the white roses

conjoined. The heraldic devices appear to show the time when the candelabra were manufactured, and from their richness, excellence of fabric, etc., Mr. P. was disposed to regard them as having been intended as decorations at the angles of the tomb in Henry VII's chapel, but sold, under one of the many ordinances to that effect, between the years 1649 and 1652.

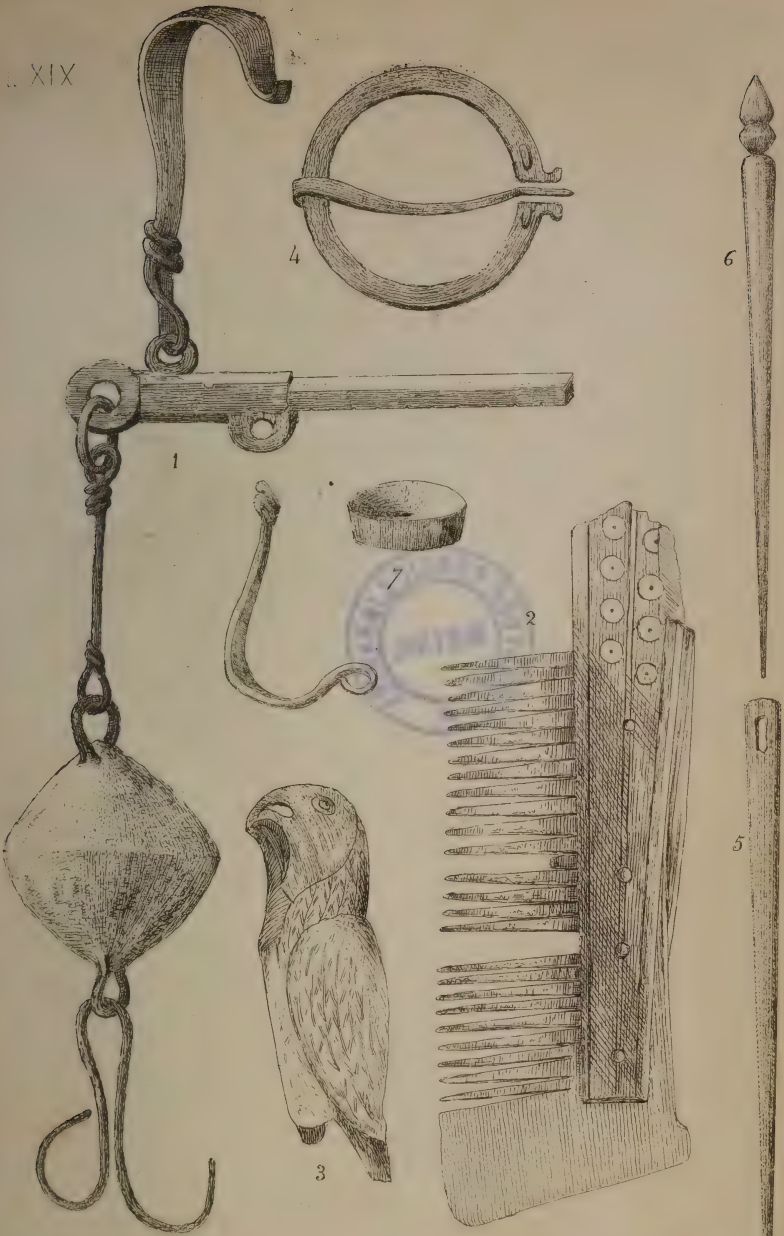
The rev. Mr. Massie, of Chester, reported, through Mr. C. R. Smith, that there have been recently found, in Roman work, a bronze eagle, about two inches in length, very solid and perfect; a Corinthian capital, near which was a perfect silver coin of Trajan; a copper medal, which he supposes to be of Crispus, son of Constantine, having on the reverse an altar and crown on it with a cross, and "VOTIS" on the altar, small and in good preservation.

Mr. James Harrison, of Chester, communicated a sketch of a floor lately discovered in Bridge-street, closely adjoining the garden of St. Michael's rectory. There was a monastery of St. Michael's which was burnt, but there now remain no particulars as to the site of it; and Mr. H. thinks it very probable that the rectory stands on the site occupied by the monastery, and that this may have been a floor of some of the buildings. The sills, composing the pavement, are shown in the exact position in which they were found, but they do not form a correct pattern. Another portion of the floor is arranged in a regular pattern.

Mr. Fillinham exhibited a large and fine flint celt, found at Malta.

Mr. Robert Cook, of York, exhibited a variety of antiquities found at different times in York. Some of these are figured in plate XIX, of the full size. Fig. 1, is a remarkably fine specimen of bronze Roman steel-yard; fig. 2, a portion of a bone comb, probably Roman; fig. 3, an ornament in jet, also probably Roman.

Dr. Thurnam, of York, exhibited several Roman antiquities from the museum of the Leeds Philosophical Hall, presented to that institution some years since by Wm. Glover Joy, esq., of Springfield Mount, who has favoured the Association with the following account of them:—"Being on a visit at York during the time the railway was formed, in 1838 or 1839, I made it a point daily to visit the excavations then making in the mound near the railway bridge. On examination, I found that the top of the mound was covered to the depth of about two feet with vegetable mould; below which appeared to be an artificial layer of lime about two inches thick, with a slight covering of gravel, as though it had been intended for a terrace. In the centre of this mound, and about eight or ten feet below this layer, was found a coffin, formed by driving down oaken planks about three or four feet long into the ground, so as to form the sides of it; these were again lined inside with oak boards; the top and bottom being of the same material. In the coffin was found a skeleton. Near this



Drawn by Chas. Bailey F.S.A.

A. H. Burdett F.S.A.
Sc 1850.



coffin were likewise found the skulls and bones of men, children, horses, etc., now in the museum. The small collection of round pieces of turned bone, like small draught-men, twenty or upwards in number, were found near the skull of a child. The broken glass-bottle, knife-handle, and other matters, were also found much below the surface. There were a great number of earthen jars, similar to the broken one in our museum, which was the best I could get, as the overlooker would not give the men time to take them out entire, containing ashes. All the articles I got are in our museum, except two small pieces of finer red pottery, which I gave to a relative of mine who was over from America, only last month; on one of these was the figure of a bear, very well done, and on the other a naked figure throwing a spear.

"I believe one or two coins were found, and were in the possession of my brother, though he now knows nothing of them."

The fibula in bronze (see plate xix, fig. 4), is somewhat uncommon; the knife was probably of the time of Henry VIII, or Elizabeth. The bone needle is shewn in fig. 5; the bone pin, fig. 6; and the bone tessera or pellet, which is curious, fig. 7. These are all represented of their full size.

MAY 15, 1850.

The rev. sir Henry Dryden, bart., forwarded a plan of the Roman villa discovered at Whittlebury Forest (see *Journal*, pp. 73-6 ante), and Mr. Edward Pretty further accounts of the discoveries. These were referred for arrangement and future publication and illustration.

Mr. Samuel Pratt exhibited two silver sacramental cruets of the early part of the sixteenth century, one for the reception of water, marked A; the other for wine, designated by the letter V. On the bottom was scratched ARNOALDUS SUM DONOR—LUFT DONOR.—See plate xviii, fig. 9. Half size of the original.

William Langton, esq., of Manchester, exhibited some mediæval seals, which were referred for more particular examination.

Charles Baily, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a copper dish, with a supposed Runic inscription, belonging to Mr. Wetton, and described in the *Archæologia*. This was referred for further consideration.

Mr. Goddard Johnson, of Norwich, exhibited a variety of antiquities found in several localities in Norfolk. These were referred for future illustration.

Mr. Barton, of Threxton, also exhibited an extensive series of antiquities obtained from various parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, viz.:—

British.—Two bronze daggers; gold breast-plate; small gold box, found in a tumulus at Little Crossingham, Norfolk; stone celt, from Wetton.

Roman.—Spear-heads, from Carbrooke, etc.; cornelian head of Minerva, found at Threxton; agate (cat's eye), from Sporle; two fibulæ, one in the form of a fish, from Threxton; several bronze ornaments, from the same place.

Saxon.—Iron boss of a shield; spear-head and knife, from a tumulus at Northwold, Norfolk; there were about forty bosses found, also many beads, etc., at this place a few years since; knife-handle, found in Norfolk; knife, in Suffolk; amber beads, etc.

Mr. James Clark, of Easton, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, exhibited to the Association three ancient rings (see plate xviii). Fig. 6 is in gold, and set with a red-coloured stone; it was taken off the point of a harrow at Leiston Abbey Farm, near Saxmundham. Fig. 4 represents a silver ring of the fifteenth century. Fig. 5 shews the legend on the same, which is I.H.S., N:R:I., *i. e.*, Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews. The device of the two hands joined is curious. Fig. 7 is also in silver, but of an older date; it may be as early as the thirteenth century. These were found at Hempstead, in Essex, in 1849.

Notices of New Publications.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MAIDSTONE RESTORED TO THE DATE OF ITS COMPLETION, A.D. 1400.

THIS is an exceedingly beautiful lithograph, from a drawing by our associate, Jno. Whichcord, jun., esq., F.S.A., exhibiting this fine building in the state in which it was probably left at its completion by the founders. Much research has been given to the subject, and considerable difficulties have been encountered in consequence of the unusual position of parts of the building. The pitch of the roof has been settled by the remains of one of the stories; the design is in accordance with the style of the period, and is rich, without being too ornate. The existing roof has a plaster ceiling in the worst taste of the middle of the last century, and it is to be hoped that funds may be raised to restore the open roof, as here designed. The church has the remains of two beautiful screens, which have been taken as authorities for designing the choir, screen, and rood. Fortunately, also, there is sufficient colour remaining to settle exactly the polychromy, which has a very nice effect. One of the most peculiar features relative to the screen-work, is the circumstance that a stone staircase, with a doorway, which evidently led into the church at the exact height of the screen-work, exists at the second buttress from the choir, in the north aisle. Mr. Whichcord has conjectured, that here was the chapel of St. Mary, which is known to have existed in the church in the reign of Henry VIII. The Corpus Christi chapel, it is known, was in the north aisle of the chancel, and that of St. Thomas of Kent in the south aisle of the same. The chapel of St. Katherine was probably in the south aisle of the nave, where there is a piscina and a canopied niche on the outside of the north aisle of the same, in which, tradition asserts, was formerly a statue of the Virgin, and with the greatest probability points of the chapel of St. Mary. Here there must have been a screen, from the circumstance of the position of the door before mentioned; and there is very little doubt that it was continued and led to the great rood screen or jube gallery, passing round behind the large piers. In fact, there is no other way of communication between the rood or jube stair, and the rood itself; and it must be remembered that this was not merely a parish church, used only for Mass and vespers, but a collegiate establishment for secular canons, where, of course, the breviary services were read every three hours, and, no doubt, portions chaunted from the rood loft, as in monastic churches. The next point

which attracts our attention is the position of the pulpit, which is drawn on the north side of the church, contrary to the general practice. We, however, have seen several examples of this kind, particularly one in the large collegiate church at Wolverhampton. Mr. Whichcord has been induced to place it in this position, from the circumstance that the sacristy is on the south side of the church (and, by the way, we may add, so is the tower), contrary to the usual practice, and because it would seem to interfere with the screen of St. Mary's chapel, if placed in the usual position. We cannot compliment the taste of those who have lately erected, in the church, a very poor, meagre pulpit, and most indescribable stair; and we think the design before us infinitely superior to that which has been adopted. We think, too, that the canopy over the pulpit, as designed by Mr. Whichcord, very much improves the effect. The members of the British Archæological Association will remember the splendid stone canopy at Worcester. A very pleasing effect has been given by diapering the chancel with the sacred monogram I.H.C. This decoration was found on the walls of the chancel, on taking down the tomb of the Dixon family in 1845; they had evidently been done with what is called a stencil, and were ranged triangularly, about nine inches apart. It is a common decoration in mediæval architecture, and, with its bright colours, very much relieves the bareness of a large unbroken surface of wall. The same remark applies to the colours on the screen-work. It is, in fact, by the contrast of the bright colours of glass, or polychromy, that the effect of stone-work is relieved far better than by covering the piers and arches with gaudy paintings, which take away from the reality of the construction, and make one mass of arabesque work, looking, after all, no better than paper-hanging, instead of showing the architecture as it is, and assisting it by coloured decoration.

The print is published as a completion of Mr. Whichcord's history of this church (London: Weale, 1845), which was founded by archbishop Courtney in 1395, and is a very pure and unmixed specimen of the architecture of that period. We hope its publication may lead to the demolition of the wretched plaster ceiling, which so much disfigures this fine building.

A. A.

LITHOGRAPHIC-COLOURED PRINTS OF ROMANO-BRITISH TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS. By H. Ecroyd Smith, Saffron Walden. Plates IV and V.

THE first of these plates illustrates one of the most beautiful pavements preserved in this country. The design is as rich and gorgeous as it is chaste and classical; it comprises nine octagonal compartments, enclosing

quadrilateral and triangular figures, interlaced by a rich guilloche of various colours. The pavement appears to have been about twenty-four feet square, and was discovered in 1830, about one hundred yards north-west of the Roman wall called Jewry-wall, in excavating for the foundations of a cellar. Mr. Ecroyd Smith remarks, that there is reason to believe the corporation of Leicester, or the Philosophical and Literary Society, may soon secure this valuable pavement from the risk of further injury. It has now been discovered just twenty years, so that the corporation of Leicester has taken considerable time to estimate its merits. It may be remarked, that the pavement discovered in Paternoster-Row some few years since, and immediately cut to pieces by the excavators, was a much finer specimen even than that of Leicester, inasmuch as the heads of deities and their emblems were introduced. The second plate is more curious than beautiful; it is also from Leicester. It represents a group of three figures,—one of which is a female; the second, Cupid drawing his bow; the third, a stag: the design may possibly have been intended to allude to the amours of Diana with Endymion. We hope the support Mr. Ecroyd Smith has received for his commendable exertions will warrant his continuing the series, and adding to it some of the specimens recently discovered at Cirencester and at other places, and perhaps some continental examples for comparison.

C. R. S.

ROMAN PAVEMENT.—At the present moment, the lovers of classical art may be gratified by the inspection at 11, Pall Mall East, of one of the most superb specimens of tessellated work ever discovered. It was dug up at Autun, in France (the Augustodunum of the Romans), at the depth of nine feet. The subject is Bellerophon killing the Chimæra. The hero is mounted sideways upon Pegasus, and is represented in the attitude of piercing the monster beneath the horse with a long spear. The entire composition is extremely fine; the drawing is almost faultless; the action spirited; and the colouring, considering the materials, really wonderful. The position of the young horseman is graceful, easy, and resolute: the wounded chimæra is a perfect study in itself; one head is pierced, and the relaxed folds of the serpent which forms the tail, its protruded tongue and half-closed eye, reveal the approaching close of the conflict. Altogether, perhaps it is finer than any specimen we possess in this country; and we trust the exhibitor may be repaid for bringing it to England.

C. R. S.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

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- By Subscription.*—Illustrations to the Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Gonville and Caius College: consisting of—Notices of the writers of the several pieces; of the writings themselves; specimens of remarkable texts, illuminations in coloured lithographic engravings, autographs and portraits; Memoirs of several distinguished members of the College. The work will be comprised in Six Parts, price Ten Shillings each Part; to be published at regular intervals during two years, commencing March 1851. Names of subscribers received by the editor, the rev. J. J. Smith, Loddon, Norfolk; or by his publishers, Mr. Deighton, Cambridge, and Mr. J. Russell Smith, Old Compton-street, Soho, London.
- Elements of Scottish Archæology. By Daniel Wilson, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 8vo.

JUST PUBLISHED.

- The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, in Kent, including an account and plan of the Roman Castrum, called Stutfall Castle, recently excavated. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.; with illustrations by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. Small quarto. J. Russell Smith, Old Compton-street, Soho.
- Collections towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain. By Joseph Marryat. With coloured plates and woodcuts. 8vo. Murray.
- A Letter addressed to R. Monckton Milnes, esq., M.P., on the condition and unsafe state of ancient Parochial Registers in England and the Colonies. By W. Downing Bruce, esq., K.C.S., F.S.A. London. 8vo. 1850.
- The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century, for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College. Collected by James Heywood, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., and Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo. London: Longman. 1850.
- Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester. By Professor Buckman, F.L.S., F.G.S., and C. H. Newmarch, esq. 8vo. and 4to. London: Bell. Cirencester: Bailly and Jones.

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ON THE STUDY OF ARCHÆOLOGY, AND THE
OBJECTS OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆ-
OLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER
OF THE ASSOCIATION.

ALTHOUGH the establishment and prosperity of the British Archæological Association, during a period of seven years, may be considered as affording irrefragable evidence of the necessity of its formation, and of the benefits which have been derived from its exertions, I have much pleasure in acceding to the desire of the Council, that, from having been associated with it from its birth to the present time, and given much attention to its pursuits and interests, I should lay before you a few remarks on the course we have pursued, and the objects we have attained. When I had the honour of addressing the members of this Association and our visitors at the Second Annual Congress, held at Winchester in 1845, I endeavoured to depict the different spirit which actuated the modern antiquaries from those of a preceding generation, as to their modes of inquiry into the monuments and remains of antiquity. The researches of the antiquaries of the present day, it must be recollected, are no longer directed to the accumulation of antiques, or to the mere development of the characters of an ancient inscription, but have reference to their relation to history, and the illustrations they afford

of the habits and customs of former times. The pursuit of the true antiquary demands a knowledge and exercise of various attainments. To render his labours effective, he must possess no little acquaintance with heraldry, with genealogy, with various languages in which inscriptions are to be found either on monuments or in manuscripts, with numismatics, with history, in general and particular manners and customs, and a variety of other attainments too numerous to be expected to be efficiently combined in any one individual. Hence arises the necessity of such associations as the present, where persons of different attainments, and knowledge in different departments of science and art, combine together to elucidate the events and memorials of past ages.

The times in which we live are peculiarly favourable to these exertions; the general advancement of knowledge in the mass of mankind favours the antiquary in a remarkable manner, as those difficulties, which from the ignorance of the people in former times, operated destructively to the monuments of antiquity, no longer exist; but, on the contrary, we find in their stead a spirit of inquiry, to search into the mysteries of the past, and to protect and preserve that which is likely to throw light upon any subject deemed worthy of investigation. It is clearly in evidence upon that which relates to our public buildings and collections, that the more widely they are thrown open to the inspection and examination of the public, the more tender and careful have that public become of their integrity, demonstrating clearly, that it is only necessary to let a general interest be manifested to ensure protection for that which the nation possesses. In like manner, we have seen at every Congress held by this Association, that the display of the antiquarian treasures of the places in which we have assembled, has, in all instances, excited an interest in the inhabitants, or beholders, for objects which before possessed no attraction whatever, and towards which a disposition, tending rather to spoliation than protection, previously existed.

The establishment of various associations to unfold ancient treasures, as shewn in the formation of the Historical, the Camden, the Shakespeare, the Percy, the Hakluyt, the Chetham, and other societies; the Roxburgh,

the Bannatyne, the Maitland, the Surtees, and other clubs, manifest the spirit which has been awakened, and the demand excited for more intimate inquiries than have been hitherto instituted.

Antiquities have, by lord Bacon, one of the greatest philosophers that ever lived, one—

——— “large of understanding,
Of memory infinite, of judgment deep,
Who knew all learning, and all science knew;
And all phenomena in heaven and earth
Traced to their causes”—

been called the “wrecks of history”; and to the collection and assemblage of these we must necessarily look for the illustration of man, and the progress of the arts and sciences. How wide the field which is thus opened to our view, and what knowledge and discretion are requisite to render examination available for useful and sound purposes! It is the province of the antiquary, by his erudition and his knowledge, to collect, assort, and connect together, the various particulars which he finds scattered either in the pages of history or in the search for antiquities, so to elucidate each other, and to bring the whole into one system. Much learning may be possessed, and it may be carried out by great ingenuity; but unless the advantage of extensive experience be added to a knowledge of details, and an acquaintance with collections, very unsatisfactory indeed will be the result. Societies alone can amass this knowledge; the united efforts of the many, in all parts of the globe, are essential to enable any generalization of the subject to be made.

No one will, I think, be disposed to question, that much benefit has been derived to the country, and to learning in general, by the establishment of the Society of Antiquaries; and although we may regret that the labours of this body, which has now existed in its form as an incorporated society, enjoying royal patronage, holding regular and undisturbed meetings, for just one century,—having been established in 1751,—have not been more extensive in their character; it must yet be admitted, that its establishment has tended to promote true and useful learning—to extend researches into real and practical knowledge—

to illustrate the laws and customs of our country—and to pourtray the advances that have been gradually made in the arts during different periods of its history—thus forming a most interesting chapter in the history of man, by the display of the various contrivances and inventions to meet his varying and multiplied wants. It might perhaps reasonably be expected, that the Society of Antiquaries should have carried out the purposes for which our Association has been formed, that investigations should have been made of all the antiquities of the kingdom, and labours instituted for the development of many that still lie hidden. Perhaps the Charter of Incorporation of this body may render such objects difficult of accomplishment; though, I confess, I cannot view it in this light. Charters are excellent things in general, as applicable to bodies, at the time in which they are given; but they are often worse than useless, as offering impediments when a century shall have elapsed, being then inapplicable to the wants and necessities of the times. That our body is not working peripatetically, I may perhaps be permitted to say, with the Society of Antiquaries in this pursuit, is not the fault of our Association, for we entertain no hostility to that body, or feel any desire of opposition to its success; on the contrary, we number among our subscribing associates no less than eighty-two of the fellows of the Society of Antiquaries; and we have been not only individually, but also collectively, as an Association, the means of furnishing to the published transactions of the society, the *Archæologia*, some very valuable papers. In truth, there is no lack of material for the contemplation of the antiquary; our quarterly *Journal* demonstrates that fact; and the only difficulty or want which we feel is, that of a deficiency of funds to illustrate in the complete manner we could wish the various communications which are daily brought under our notice. That we do not possess funds adequate to such purpose, does not arise from indiscretion or a profligate expenditure on other objects, as will be clear to every one, when I state, that no officer of this society receives a salary—that with us, the love of the pursuit beguiles all the labour of it,—*studio fallente laborem*, as Horace expresses it; and that every farthing we receive into our treasury is expended in the printing and illustration of

our *Journal*, and the steps we take to maintain ourselves as a body. And when I pause to reflect upon what has been accomplished by such small means—when I consider the small amount of our subscription, being one guinea only annually, or ten guineas as a life subscriber; and that for this sum each member receives four quarterly *Journals*, constituting a volume of large bulk, and profusely illustrated by excellent engravings, I am sure it will be acknowledged, that those to whom has been entrusted the conducting of the affairs of the Association, have been rigidly faithful to their trust, and deserve well of society at large.

A glance at the volumes to which I have thus alluded, will shew how many barrows have been opened, how many Roman villas have been exhibited, and what collections of antiquities have been procured throughout the country. The discovery of these, combined with judicious historical remarks, has served to give a certainty to antiquarian research of which it was formerly not possessed. Our experienced associates are now enabled, with a precision that is almost marvellous, immediately to assign to the several objects thus brought to light, their nature and arrangement, either as Roman or Danish, ancient British or Saxon. Plain and simple as many of these antiquities appear—rude and irregular as many of them must be admitted to be—uninviting to the eye, and exciting but little emotion in the mind of the ordinary or uninformed spectator—to the antiquary they present features of the highest interest, inasmuch as they are illustrative of the history of the human species.

The accumulation of such various and varied treasures now carefully stored up and recorded, designated also by their proper localities, only raises in our minds feelings of deep regret, that archæological associations had not been earlier established, from a consciousness of how much has been lost. Let us not, however, flatter ourselves, that much has yet been accomplished. It is doubtless no inconsiderable matter to have essayed the first step towards the preservation and arrangement of British antiquities; but much remains behind, to the accomplishment of which I trust every zealous effort will be made. We are absolutely at this time, in the middle of the nineteenth century,

without any collection that can be called truly British. It is true, that we have a British Museum, but in vain will you seek, within the walls of that now gigantic building, any collection of British remains. Particular specimens only are there to be seen, and nothing like a series or arrangement in relation to any description of our national antiquities is to be found. I will, however, hope for better times, and for a more extended spirit, and I believe that associations of the nature, respecting which I am now speaking, will do a great deal towards carrying out the object so greatly needed. A collection of our national antiquities, so much to be desired, could not but be of the highest benefit to archæological knowledge—the examination of individual specimens is of little value, unless in comparison with others, and connected with the study of the several localities whence they have been obtained; and I therefore look upon the establishment of our *Journal* in the light of a *Diary of Archæology*, by which a true and faithful record is kept of archæological discoveries, and by which the proper localities of the various antiquities are duly established. By this means, we are forming a storehouse and treasury of materials for future inquirers, and for the information of the historian.

With much pleasure, however, I refer to a step taken during the past months by the Society of Arts, in whose rooms, under the influence and by the assistance of our archæological societies, a collection of medieval antiquities was brought together, and excited a most laudable interest. Had a little more time been allowed for the collection and arrangement of the specimens thus accumulated, I doubt not the exhibition would have attained a much greater magnitude; and I trust that the example thus set with respect to the medieval period, may be followed by those of an earlier and a later date, so that the links by which they are connected together may be rendered apparent. Much praise is due to those who so readily and so liberally came forward to combine in this work; and it must be truly grateful to every Briton to know, that the earliest offer on the occasion to contribute to this useful purpose, emanated from her most gracious majesty the Queen, and that her illustrious example was speedily followed by the duke of Devonshire, duke of Buccleuch,

marquis of Douglas, lord de Mauley, lord Hastings, sir John Boileau, the hon. Mr. Neville, Mr. Bernal, Mr. Stevenson, many of our associates, etc.; whilst it is pleasant to record, that our public bodies and companies were also alive to the interest of such an exhibition; and that the Board of Ordnance, the burgesses of Westminster, the Society of Antiquaries, the corporation of Lynn, the colleges of Oriel, Pembroke, Emmanuel, Clare Hall, etc., of Oxford and Cambridge; and the clothworkers, fishmongers, ironmongers, carpenters, mercers, sadlers, and drapers, of the city of London, contributed valuable specimens of interest on the occasion.

As in the arrangement of their museums foreign nations must be admitted to have excelled us, we cannot be surprised that we should also have been preceded in the establishment of congresses. What had been so successfully done in France and Normandy, the British Archæological Association attempted to accomplish at Canterbury in September 1844. Considering that the society had then not attained more than nine months' existence, it was a bold attempt, but the end justified the effort. The advantages arising from the assembling together of a number of antiquaries,—of concentrating the antiquarian force of the kingdom, as it were, on one spot, to examine into the antiquities of the place,—to discuss their nature, and bring to their elucidation the learning and the comparative observations of different individuals,—became speedily apparent; and the interest excited by the inquiry on this and future occasions, has been productive of the preservation of many valuable antiquities, which would otherwise have been lost, or suffered to perish. Added to this, it may also be stated, that by such a proceeding, the creation of a taste for antiquities has led to the diffusion of a knowledge of, and a consequent desire for, the preservation of our national monuments and antiquities. We have by these meetings, which have now been successively held at Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, Warwick, Worcester, and Chester, also tended to establish local societies, co-operating with the parent institution, and diffusing either by our *Journal*, or through their own publications, a knowledge of their local antiquities. Out of our Association directly, or emanating from the spirit of inquiry to which we have

given birth, I may mention the establishment of the Archæological Institute, the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, the Sussex Archæological Society, the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the Architectural and Archæological Society for the county of Buckingham, the Archæological Societies of Canterbury, Cheltenham, Chester, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Ipswich, Lincoln, Leeds, Scarborough, Somersetshire, St. Alban's, York, etc., and the Cambrian Archæological Association.

I should trespass too long upon the time devoted to this meeting, were I to attempt to particularize the researches that have been made in the various parts of the country by the members of this Association ; suffice it to say, then, there is scarcely a county in which some matter of interest has not been brought forth ; and there are many in which discoveries of importance have been elicited, and demolition of ancient monuments prevented. Much light has been thrown upon the real nature of the barrows so profusely scattered over this island. The too hasty conclusions of the antiquaries of earlier days have been corrected, and the people identified to whom their contents formerly belonged. The display of Saxon antiquities in the county of Kent alone, by the labours of our esteemed associate Mr. Rolfe, has excited our wonder ; but the knowledge of the intermixture of these with Roman remains has added much to our store of information. Within the last year only the Association has been engaged in the investigation of several Roman villas, which had not been previously explored. In the elucidation and illustration of these, we have to render thanks to the liberality of the hon. Mr. Neville, and other associates of our body, and to express a hope that the excavations now going on at Richborough and Lymne, under the direction of our members Mr. J. Elliott, of Dymchurch, and Mr. C. Roach Smith, a notice of which will be laid before this congress, may be attended with a success proportionate to the zeal of those now engaged upon that exploration.

Our efforts have, during the past year, not been confined merely to our native soil. A correspondence with foreign antiquaries has been established, and is now carried on by our learned foreign secretary, Dr. William Bell.

Already M. Boucher de Perthes, président de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, has transmitted to us his valuable work on Celtic and antiquarian remains, and accompanied this interesting present with a collection of specimens illustrative of his researches.

M. Joachim Lelewel, of Brussels, well known by various learned works, has supplied us with an important geographical desideratum, in the form of a collection of medieval maps, and he has made the collection more complete and valuable by adding to it maps of the medieval Greek and Arabian geographers, forming altogether a manual of medieval chartology of great interest and value.

L'Abbé Cochet, of Dieppe, author of many important publications, has communicated to us the account of a Roman cemetery discovered in Normandy.

M. de Caumont, the founder of the society for the conservation of historical monuments in France, to whose exertions must primarily be attributed the establishment of archæological congresses, and which may truly be said to have introduced a taste for conservatism in the place of a disposition for destruction, has continued to furnish us with his valuable *Bulletin Monumental*, a treasury of archæological information, and has also supplied us with accounts of the congresses of antiquaries held in France.

The Société des Antiquaires du Nord; de Normandie; Royale d'Emulation d'Abbeville; Académie Royale de Stockholm; de Picardie; de L'Ouest; de Copenhague; have not been inattentive to us during the last year, sending to us their numerous publications, whilst M. de Gerville and M. Leopold Delisle, of Valognes; M. Comarmond, of Lyons; Prof. Arneth, of Vienna; M. Lecointre Dupont, of Poitiers; M. Fillon, of Fontenay; Dr. Rigollot, of Amiens; M. Hermand, of St. Omer; herr Worsæe, of Copenhagen, have presented to us their several works in archæology.

M. Charma, Prof. of Philosophy at Caen, has honoured the Association by dedicating to it his admirable biography of Lanfranc.

Our intercourse with America during the past year has been rendered more than usually interesting and important, by the establishment of a communication with

the Smithsonian Institution, established at Washington. The illegitimate son of an English duke, who was for a considerable time an active Fellow of the Royal Society, was induced, late in life, to transfer, by a posthumous gift, a sum exceeding £100,000 to the United States of America, and to leave the entire controul of the expenditure of its income to the president and congress. The first fruits of this bequest have now reached us, in the form of a large 4to. volume, containing much curious matter relating to the early archæology of the western hemisphere, and is to be followed by a *Bibliographia Americana*, embracing a description of all books printed prior to the year 1700 relating to America, and of all books printed in America from 1543 to 1700. An agreement, mutually advantageous to the Smithsonian Institution and the British Archæological Association, has been entered into, by which the labours of each will be communicated to the other, and an account of the first contribution is given in the last volume of our journal.

To the establishment of local archæological societies, to which I have alluded, and to their communication with a larger central body, it is impossible to speak but with great satisfaction and pleasure; yet I cannot help expressing my deep regret, that at this distant period from the establishment of our Association, there should still exist divisions which have created two great central bodies, having the same objects in view—the same intentions and purposes to fulfil—yet not unfrequently acting adversely to each other, and even operating, though in a trifling degree on the present occasion, to the non-appearance of some in this county, whose names can never be mentioned without feelings of respect and admiration for their public munificence and their private worth. That the spirit of emulation may be regarded as the soul of intellectual activity, is true; and as long as the labours of the British Archæological Association, and the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, shall be directed only to the carrying out of the objects for which they were originally established, no harm can arise; but the division has fomented a party-spirit,—has set not only body against body, but, in some few instances, individual against individual, and must therefore be deeply deplored. We are either of us

sufficiently strong to do the work of our society, but the funds, which united, might be adequate to carrying out with proper vigour the purposes for which we are associated, are not to be found in either. I regret that all attempts made to reconcile the differences which originally bred dissension and led to separation have not been met by a corresponding desire for amity on the part of the Archæological Institute, and that all efforts to promote union by arbitration or public meeting made by the British Archæological Association have been rejected. We must, therefore, rely with confidence on our own powers, which have been steadily increasing during the past five years, and continue to advance; and having shewn what can be done with small means hitherto, entertain equally good expectations as to the future. The work in which we are engaged is not of the description given by Cowper, consisting of—

“ Letting down buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up.”

but is productive of great and lasting interest, and accompanied by much pleasure. It is certainly true that time gives a venerable air to all things; to men, to trees, to buildings, and to books; and though, to employ the language of Pliny,¹ it is indeed no easy task to give novelty to what is old, and authority to what is new; brightness to what is become tarnished, and light to what is obscure; to render what is slighted, acceptable, and what is doubtful, worthy of our confidence; to give to all a natural manner, and to each its peculiar nature; it is sufficiently honorable and glorious to have been willing even to make the attempt, although it should prove unavailing. In conducting our researches, the essential spirit of the Baconian theory, which is that of utility, must be kept in mind by our associates; nothing must be regarded as too insignificant for the attention of the wisest, which is not too insignificant to give pleasure or pain to the meanest. The ancient philosophy has been well described as a *treadmill*, not a *path*; incessant toil and labour, yet never getting

¹ “ Res ardua, vetustis novitatem fidem, omnibus vero naturam, et auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuræ suæ omnia.”—*Hist. Nat. lib. i.*
ris lucem, fastiditis gratiam, dubiis

forward; always remaining at the same point: "revolving questions; controversies which were always beginning again." The human mind, instead of marching, merely marked time, and it may truly be said that "words, and more words, and nothing but words, had been all the fruit of all the toil of all the most renowned sages of sixty generations." Lord Bacon rectified the mode of philosophising, and pointed out the method of induction as the true mode of increasing knowledge. In making these observations, I must not however be regarded as slighting or wishing to depreciate the labours of the earlier writers; and though I may not be prepared to go the whole length with the learned author of *The Guesses at Truth*, who declares that "much of this world's wisdom is still acquired by necromancy, by consulting the oracular dead", I am yet one who admire the ancients, though I trust not so blindly as to despise the ingenious productions of our own times; for nature is not, as it were, weary and barren, so as now to bring forth nothing worthy of praise. *Neque enim, quasi lassa, et effæta natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat.* It will be found to be with antiquities, and especially I fear in relation to those which are architectural, as described by sir Wm. Temple, when he says that "whosoever converses much among the old books will be something hard to please among the new", for some of our modern buildings may be certainly denominated as of a class "finely confused and alarmingly obscure."

The importance of ancient and classical learning has been admirably handled by perhaps the most extraordinary man of the present day, in an inaugural discourse on being installed Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow:—"Study, then, I beseech you (says lord Brougham in his address to the pupils), so to store your minds with the exquisite learning of former ages, that you may always possess within yourselves sources of rational and refined enjoyment, which will enable you to set at nought the grosser pleasures of sense, whereof other men are slaves; and so imbue yourselves with the sound philosophy of later days, forming yourselves to the virtuous habits which are its legitimate offspring, that you may walk unhurt through the toils which await you, and may look down upon the ignorance and error that surround you, not with lofty and supercilious

contempt, as the sages of old times, but with the vehement desire of enlightening those who wander in darkness, and who are by so much the more endeared to us by how much they want our assistance." And again, among other most remarkable and felicitous observations, which must have given equal delight to all those to whom they were addressed, as to all who may peruse that masterly production: "Be you assured, that the works of the English chisel fall not more short of the wonders of the Acropolis, than the best productions of modern pens fall short of the chaste, finished, nervous, and overwhelming compositions of them that resistless fulminated over Greece."

By the introduction of the philosophy of Lord Bacon, and the labours of the enlightened men of our own days, philosophy has been completely popularized, and mingles with every order of society, from the palace to the cottage: all approach its illumination; all participate in its benefits. The pleasures of knowledge and intellect are, as the eloquent Robert Hall expressed it, "noble in their nature, exquisite in their degree, and permanent in their continuance." This, I am assured, will not be denied by those who have sufficiently experienced and who are competent to estimate them. Let us therefore seek out and peruse that which is truly excellent, and by contemplating always this, and this alone, the mind will insensibly become accustomed to it, and find that in this alone it can acquiesce with content. This is the labour—this the work: there is pleasure in the success, and praise even in the attempt. Erasmus was once asked "How a man might become learned?" and he replied: "If he should live constantly with the learned; if he should listen to the learned not less submissively than respectfully; if he should read the learned attentively; if he should get the learned by heart; if he should never think himself learned."¹

But I must hasten to a close. The study of antiquities is almost unlimited in its subject, and requires the assistance of learning of varied kinds to its elucidation. To display the various steps by which the arts have acquired their present perfection—to demonstrate the general diffusion

¹ Si doctis assiduè conviveret; si legeret; si doctos diligentèr ediscedoctos audiret non minùs submissè ret; denique si se doctum nunquam quàm honorificè; si doctos strenuè putaret.

of useful science to a variety of purposes—will form subjects for the several papers which will be laid before this congress; and I cannot but anticipate that under the presidency of one who feels not only so deep an interest in the locality selected for our meeting this year, but who has also ever manifested so great a desire to promote the happiness of his fellow creatures by the extension of useful learning and knowledge, we shall at least manifest the necessity of our Association now assembled on the site of the ANCIENT MANCUNIAM, demonstrate the value of its formation, and enable every individual to communicate his share to the stock of general information and antiquarian learning.

This universality of co-operation; the readiness afforded to all connected with our body to communicate, however crude, their suggestions, has formed a very distinctive character of our Association, and has not unfrequently manifested under what unpropitious circumstances knowledge has been acquired and discoveries effected. It is no less the duty than it is the interest of those whose lot in life has been cast in a happy mould to assist those who have been less fortunate; for it must be admitted that some of the best contributions we have received have been, I may say, from the operative rather than the speculative antiquary. “The valuable pearl is shut up in a mean shell; the diamond has a rough outside; and gold and silver are enveloped in earth and stone, and mean materials. Men are not discouraged by these external appearances, because they know the excellence of what is contained within.”¹

“————— at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore.”—*Horat.*

It would not be uninteresting to record some of the difficulties that have opposed themselves to the acquisition of knowledge, and to display how such obstacles have been surmounted; but it would partake too much of a personal character to enter upon this field, and I therefore quit it with observing that these cases afford additions to the many illustrations of the remark of the immortal Sir Isaac Newton, that “if there was any mental habit or endowment

¹ Theodoret, ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.—Disp. ix, p. 924.

in which he excelled the generality of men, it was that of patience, in the examination of the facts and phenomena of his subject." This constitutes the only way of overcoming prejudices or the sway of pre-conceived theories, which but too frequently lead the imagination astray, and warp the judgment. The distinguishing characteristic of wise men is to banish prejudices; not to confine themselves to the customs of their fathers, but to seek truth, and collect what is useful, wherever it may be found.

Examination into the origin of the arts will perhaps occasionally offer to us instances of the effect of chance or accident; but these lucky discoveries are of extremely rare occurrence; far more rare than is generally esteemed, for the human mind is naturally prone to an admiration of the marvellous, and it is our nature to delight in antiquity and fable. Poets have assisted to hand down the record popular tradition has established; but depend upon it, that minute investigation into the greater number of the instances that may be cited, as demonstrative of the marvellous and mysterious, will, upon close inspection—upon being subjected to rigorous examination—be found to have been the result of slow and successive efforts, gradually leading to a development so unexpected and so complete, as to appear rather the effect of sudden inspiration than the result of the regular proofs arrived at by the exercise of the reasoning faculties.

ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, F.S.A.

THEY only who have entered into lengthened archæological investigations, particularly such as unite historic and architectural features,—they who know how much may turn on what appears to be so little, and what seemingly

trifling information as to dates and facts may establish or overthrow a theory,—they only can understand with what anxiety and diffidence I must approach my subject, when they are informed that all the precious documents connected with this cathedral,—its charters, rolls, leiger books, all those valuable manuscripts which the industry of the monks had amassed in their cloister, and could alone satisfactorily elucidate our subject,—were unhappily destroyed during the civil wars. The difficulty of this branch of archæological research is not so much the discovery of facts, and the reasoning thereon, as the certainty that the whole of our evidence has been collected; that all the facts are before us; that nothing is hidden which, when brought to light, may shew that, however ingenious our reasoning may be, there is some *tertium quid*, some unlooked-for event, or some *undiscovered* fact, which destroys all our preconceived notions. When, therefore, I state that, in consequence of the deplorable loss of those memorials, I have been compelled to collect from any sources I could such stray notices as documents indirectly bearing on them could afford, wading through the *disjecta membra* of chartularies, rolls, the records of other places, and the jottings of the antiquaries of other localities, I feel assured that my audience will pardon me if I state many things simply as conjecture, supported only by strong probabilities, and being too often deficient in authorities on those points which most seem to demand them. No investigation of this nature is worth anything, unless the historic account agrees with, and, as it were, dovetails in with, what I may be pardoned for calling our professional education on the matter. The mere reliance on the manuscript will often attribute too much or too little as the work of the bishop or prior whose undoubted labour it records. The mere reliance on the eye, will throw the whole work too late, or push it forward too early, by perhaps half a century, just as the preconceived notions of the architect may be biassed. As in other studies, it is only a union of sound theory and laborious practice that can be relied on. It is by this retrospective second-sight alone we can declare the era of our buildings; it is by this alchemy we transmute the dust of some old charter into the gold of the knowledge of those principles, practices,

and feelings, which governed the arts of our medieval ancestors, and enable us to follow them in the sciences they created.

I fear I have also some little prejudice to surmount. The old collegiate church, which so fitly adorns the confluence of your ancient streams, the Irwell and the Irk, has of course less pretensions than those mighty piles erected as the seats of the ancient and powerful sees of our old bishoprics, and in consequence has been spoken of slightly, and almost with contempt. To compare it with Canterbury, York, or Lincoln, would be doing injustice to both. You would laugh at me should I attempt it. But I trust to shew you, if you will lend me a patient and indulgent ear, that it not only possesses many points of interest, in common with other medieval buildings, but that it has many circumstances connected with its history, and many beauties in itself, which are far more worthy of your attention and admiration than perhaps you may at present be aware of.

It is too much our custom in prosperity to forget and undervalue our early history. In a town, whose extent and population rival many of the celebrated cities on the continent, and whose wealth and resources are greater than many an ancient and time-honoured principality—nay, I might say kingdom—whose commerce extends to the uttermost parts of the earth, and whose influence is felt in the most powerful senates, it is not surprising that such a present state, and the prospect of a more prosperous future, should make us forget, or think lightly, of the past. But this is no new or upstart town; not one of those whose prosperity is as sudden as the springing up of the mushroom, and to which the envious might augur as speedy a decay. It is in fact one of the oldest towns in this empire. It was the *Mancenion* of the ancient British—it was the *Mancunium* of the Romans. It was here, on the banks of the little river Medlock, in the days of king Arthur, as recorded by the old romances, sir Tarquin kept his castle, and challenged all comers, till his overthrow by sir Launcelot du Lake. It received from the Saxons the proud affix to its name of *Chester*, which indicates a Roman *castrum stativum*, or large military station, adopted by their successors as the site of a superior

town. From that period Manchester has steadily increased in importance: it has been the cradle, as it now is the throne, of manufacturing science. As early as the wars of the Roses, we hear of Manchester rugges and frizes; and such was their importance, that we find in 5 and 6 of Edward VI, more than three hundred years ago, there were parliamentary enactments to regulate the commerce of this city.

These, however, are matters that bear but indirectly on my subject. Its position as a British and as a Roman town will be ably elucidated by other members. It is my task to confine myself to its ecclesiastical history.

The first authentic record which we possess is from the celebrated Domesday Book. It runs thus :—" Salford-scire Hund. Eccles. S. Mariæ et eccl. S. Michael ten^t in Mamcestre unam carucam terræ quietam ab omni consuetudine preter Geldam." In the hundred of Salford. The church of St. Mary and the church of St. Michael hold in Manchester one carucate of land, free from all customary tax, except Dane Geld. We see that at that period Manchester had two churches; and that this property was exempt from payment of any tax to the king, or any one else, except the Dane Geld. It is perhaps somewhat beyond the present question to go very deeply into this matter. Dr. Whitaker has entered at very great length, and with an extraordinary degree of acuteness and discrimination, into the question of the situation of these churches. He supposes them to have been on the site of the original Roman town, in what is at present, or was very lately, called the " Castle Acre", and in old documents by the word Acca. The situation of this is of course familiar to every one. I shall not enter into his most acute investigation, further than to say that his opinion (and it is still uncontroverted) is, that St. Mary's was situate near what is now called St. Mary's gate, and St. Michael's church was at Alport. The carucate of land is supposed with great reason to be what is now called Kirkmans-hulme.

At the general and wholesale confiscation of all the lands in England by the Conqueror, this town of Manchester and the country adjacent was granted to Roger de Poitou, who was called lord of the honor of Lancaster. There seems to be some greater degree of respect given to

this district at that time than usual, for it is called Christ's Croft; and an old distich is cited by many early writers that exactly fixes its locality,—

“ When all England is aloft,
Weel are they that are in Christ's Croft;
And where shud Christ's Croft be
But between Ribble and Mersee.”

It appears that Roger de Poitou created Albert de Gresley the first baron of Manchester; and although the superior lord fell into disgrace with the Conqueror, and the lands between Ribble and Mersey passed to the earls of Chester, the family of the Gresleys continued to enjoy their estates and honors as barons of Manchester for many years. In 1150 we learn from the famous *Testa de Nevil*, which has not long since been published by the record commission, that Albert *Gredle* (as it is there spelt) gave to the church of *Mancestre* four bovates, or oxgangs, of land, “in eleemosinam”, or free alms. There has been much dispute among antiquaries as to the quantity or extent of the bovat, or oxgang; and it has been variously stated at the very wide differences of ten to twenty-four acres each. Some consider four bovates to be equal to a carucate. If so, the quantity of the land belonging to the church must have been doubled; and it is probable the living was then one of considerable consequence. It is worthy of remark, that we hear only of one church—not of two, as in *Domesday*. Of the old Saxon churches we have no account, nor is there any authentic record of the original foundation of the church on the present site. Our materials now, alas! become very scanty. The utmost that ingenuity or industry can develope is, that the incumbents of Manchester are mentioned in several charters under the title of deans. A charter of Hugo, bishop of Coventry, April 1192, is witnessed by J. Decanus de Mancestr. In 1235, another is witnessed by J. Decan. de Mainscestre and Jurdan capellan (or chaplain) ejusdem villæ, and so they are continued in many evidences¹ as late as 1421, in which

¹ I have to express my thanks for the politeness of our esteemed associate, Mr. Owen, who brought one of these charters to the meeting with him, and exhibited it at the end of my discourse.

Thomas La Warre is called dean of the deanery (*decanus decanatus*) of Manchester.

In the famous *Taxatio* of pope Nicholas, made between the years 1288 to 1292, from which, as an authentic source, all the taxes in England were assessed for many years, we find this passage,—

Decanatus de Mainscestre et Blackburn.

	Coventr. Taxatio.	Sp. Decima.
Ecclesia de Mainscestr . . .	£53 6 8	£5 6 8
Eccles p't's . . .	20 0 0	2 0 0

In the deanery of Manchester and Blackburn, the church of Manchester is worth £53 6s. 8d. per annum, and its appurtenances £20 per annum—in those days a very large sum. Still we hear of only one church.

In consequence of the failure of the male line, the barony, which had been held by the Grelleys, Gredleys, or Gresleys (it is spelt in many ways), in 1313 came into the family of La Warre.

Meanwhile the town seems to have been removed, or rather perhaps to have extended itself, further north. The pleasantness of the situation, and the strength of the place, surrounded as it was by the two rivers, and the small stream called Hanging Ditch, seems to have induced the baron to build himself a small castle, or hold, called afterwards for many years the “Baron’s Hull”, just on the confluence of the Irk and Irwell. It seems also clear that here was the rectory house; and there is but little doubt the church was also here. The Hanging Ditch is now arched over. It derived its name from the hanging bridge, or drawbridge, which was then the only means of access to the ground, which in fact formed an island. The baron’s hull seems to have been on the site of the present Chetham college.

In pursuance of the famous statute, *Extenta Manerii*, 4th Edward I, a survey was made in 1322 of the barony of Manchester: an account of this is given in Kuerden’s MS., fol. 274, and also in Hollingworth, page 32. “The church of Manchester, worth 200 marks, is at the lord’s presentation, to which lord John de la War now last presented John de Cuerden (Hollingworth calls him Deeverdon, which is evidently a mistake of the editor),

“who having been instituted in the same, possesses the endowment consisting of eight burgages in Manchester, and the vills of Newton and Kermonshulme, with the meadows, woods, pastures, and other appurtenances.” This survey also mentions the manor, a place of pasture without the gate, the wood of Alport; and Hollingworth, who evidently was well read in it (*ut supra*), states: “It joynd to the rectory of Manchester, saving that a place called Blenorcharde, or Wallegreenes, was between them. The manor house” (says this excellent chronicler) “stood in, or neere to, the place where the collage now stands, and was called Baron’s Court, or Baron’s Yerde, and place was called Baron’s Hull.” I shall shew presently my reasons for believing the church, also to be on this site.

But before proceeding with the account of the architecture of the Church, it is necessary to call to your minds the great change that was working throughout all society at this time. The Saxon line of kings had long been restored, Saxon laws and Saxon feelings revived; but more than this, literature had made great progress on the continent, and science, which had been driven, by the irruption of the hordes of Goths and Vandals, to the east, was returning to Europe. The famous pope Sylvester had edited works on geometry, the Arab universities of Spain were giving to the world the theories of Diophantus, of Euclid, and the philosophy of Aristotle and Galen. Petrarch and his friends had opened new lights of study. In our own country, a class of literature was attempted, which afterwards blazed forth in the glowing pages of Gower and Chaucer. The Norman noble, who considered himself as lord over the Saxon serf, had been long gathered to his fathers, and the successors even of his blood were proud to be known as English, to bear the banner of English chivalry, and to be supported by English yeomen—such, let me add, as the far famed Lancashire bowmen. Two great changes were wrought at this time, or rather, grew noiselessly out of altered circumstances, in men’s minds and thoughts. They grew silently, as the tree grows in the cleft of the wall; and like it, they silently overthrew and thrust out many old and weighty customs, that it seemed could hardly be moved.

The first was the steady increase of commerce and ma-

nufactures. A change but little noticed at first, but which ultimately was the real cause of the destruction of the feudal power of the nobles, and the introduction of what has since been called a middle class; one which held a rank between the lord and the vassal. The second was the still greater change of the Reformation, and the undercurrent almost equally unobserved and equally powerful that produced it.

It is not my intention to describe either. It is not the place to enter into any disquisition as to these changes, to express regrets for what has been lost, or to talk of what has been gained; I must confine myself to the effects upon Manchester.

The union of Edward with Philippa of Hainault was the means of bringing the Low Countries into immediate connexion with England. Many industrious and enterprising Flemings flocked to this country, particularly to the midland counties, where they were received with open arms, partly on account of their hostility to the French, and still more so from their talent in arts and manufactures. I can hardly do better than quote the quaint language of old Fuller on this subject. He says: "Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within doors, soon after went out bridegrooms and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them. Yea! these yeomen in whose houses they harboured, soon preceded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to the estates." The manufactures the Flemings imported, or rather improved, were weaving and spinning. To them, and to their arts, the present wealth of Manchester owes its origin. From this period we may date the rise of such families as the Byroms, the Bexwikes, the Galleys, the Becks, and the Chethams.

The other change to which I alluded had especially worked in the midland counties. It was here that Wycliff preached, and it was the great duke of Lancaster that protected him. The clergy of these parts seem deeply to have been imbued with his spirit. About this time, a change took place of so little general remark, that I think no historian has thought it worth while to notice. I allude to

the general establishment of colleges of secular canons. This order, founded by S. Augustine himself, consisted of members who lived together in a community, but mixed with the world in other respects, gave great attention to the education of youth, and busied themselves actively in the duties of their profession, instead of burying themselves in the refectory and cloister. They more nearly (with the exception of the vow of celibacy) resembled our cathedral clergy than any other body I can liken them to. Under our Saxon forefathers many of these colleges, as they are called, of secular canons, were established; after the Conquest they were mostly dispossessed by the Benedictines; but at the period I refer to, the latter Plantagenet and Lancaster reigns, there seems to have been an immense revival of the orders of secular canons. If any one runs his eye down the lists given in the last volume of Dugdale, he will find that much the largest number of colleges of secular canonries were established after the middle of the fourteenth century, and that between that period and the Conquest scarcely any colleges were founded. Each age has its exigencies. We often attribute great changes to the last and least causes, and not to a long chain of antecedent circumstances.

In 1421, Thomas La Warre, the last heir male of that family, who had made themselves so famous in the wars with France, himself an ecclesiastic, founded the collegiate church, which is now the chief ornament of the town, and almost the only remains of its medieval architecture. The popular account of this foundation is given by old Fuller, in his *Worthies*, p. 120 of the folio edition. It runs thus: "Thomas West was younger brother to lord de la Werre and parson of Manchester, on whom the barony devolved, his brother dying issueless. The pope allowed him to marry for the continuance of so honourable a family, upon condition that he would build a colledge for such a number of priests (fellows under a warden) as the bishop of Durham and Lichfield should think fit, which he accordingly did at Manchester. The endowment of this collegiate and parochial church were the glebe and tithes of the parsonage, and besides them scarcely any other considerable revenue." Very much talk has been made of this account. The unusual, the almost solitary instance of

such a dispensation as to permit a clergyman to marry, has naturally attracted much attention. But alas ! for the lovers of a marvellous tale, old Fuller's version is wholly unsupported. Not only is there no account of anything of the kind, in the king's charter and that of the bishop, but every chronicler, Kuerden, and Hollingworth, are silent on the subject. No such papal dispensation has been found. No account of such a marriage having taken place exists ; and I think every man's calm judgment would set this negative testimony against the quaint account of old Fuller, who seems to have been a sort of ecclesiastical Pepys. His gossiping propensities inclined him to listen to and collect a number of tales quite unsupported, except by vague report. However, thanks to the industry of the late Dr. Hibbert Ware, a deed has been discovered, dated a few years only before this period, whereby La Warre inalienably settles in trust on the heir male of his sister's family the whole of his estates. That an elderly man should do this, and afterwards make the application to the pope we are told of, is absurd.

The causes which induced La Warre to found this establishment are told us plainly in the charter of the bishop. They are the considerations that Manchester is a large and populous parish ; that it has been governed by rectors, some of whom rarely, some never cared to reside ; and some strong animadversions follow on the irregularities likely to arise from such proceedings. The remedy proposed by the charter is "the erection of the parish church of Manchester into a collegiate church." How far their designations are or are not compatible has lately been matter of debate. The subject has been fully discussed ; and, moreover, does not bear directly upon my subject.

La Warre obtained a license from the king, Henry V, dated 1421, to surrender the property into the hands of the bishop of Durham and other feoffees for this purpose. The parishioners assented, and in the same year, 14th of June, sent an address to the diocesan, praying his assent to the scheme. This was given by a charter, dated the 5th August also in the same year, by which the church is created into a college, consisting of a warden, or, as Hollingworth calls him, keeper or master, eight fellows chaplains, four clerks, and six choristers. The church was

dedicated to S. Mary, according to most accounts; but the famous Randle Holme, Harl. MS., 2129, says: "This church was formerly dedicated to S. Dionyse y^e patron of ffraunce, and S. George y^e patron of England, y^e sd. De La Ward being ptly. a ffrechman and ptly. an Englishman." The first warden was Huntington, appointed 23d Nov. 1422. It will be beside my purpose to pursue the documentary history of this church much further. The confiscation of its revenues at the Reformation, the restitution by Queen Mary, the charters of Elizabeth and Charles the First, have no bearing on the existing building; I, therefore, at once turn to the second portion of my subject, the elucidation of its architectural features.

The first authority which gives any clear and undoubted information on this point is the valuable old chronicle of Hollingworth. He says, page 43 (I quote from the paging of the reprint of the *Mancuniensis*, as more convenient): "This John Huntington, bachelor in degrees and rector of Assheton-under-Lyme, was warden near forty years, a man learned in the learning of those times, very devout and magnificent; hee built the chancel or quire, in the midst whereof, and just before the high altar, as it then stood, he lyes buried, with the suitable inscription, 'Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ'. His rebus or name-devyse (a custome borrowed of the French) is to be seene on either syde of the middle arch as it looketh eastward; on one syde is an huntsman with dogges, whereby he thought to expresse the former two syllables of his name; on the other syde, a vessell called a tonne, which being joined together, makes Huntington." On my examination of the building some weeks back, for the purpose of preparing for to-day, I was much struck by finding under the tower a doorway which must have been at least one hundred years older than Huntington's time. I made a careful section of the mouldings; and on comparing with those the best authenticated, I feel sure it is about the date 1330. In fact, it almost exactly coincides in character with one of that period given in Paley's admirable little manual. On seeing this, I was induced to look further, for it puzzled me to find evident indications of earlier work than what had always been considered to be the earliest part of the building. At the east end of the church, in the piers of the Lady chapel

arch, and in fact of *part* of the arch mouldings (for there are two sets, the upper of later date and of different pitch) there is also evident decorated moulding, such as prevailed from 1330 to 1360, sixty or seventy years before Huntington's time. It was my first visit to Manchester, a visit I shall not forget, on account of the kind and unaffected courtesy with which I was received by every one. I was but then commencing my investigation. I felt I was met on the threshold by some serious doubts. I then proceeded to the Chetham library, which was most kindly thrown open to me, and I had the opportunity of comparing closely the manuscripts of Hollingworth and Kuerden with the reprints. I also examined the very curious collections amassed by your local antiquaries, one of whom, Mr. Burritt, I was informed, had been a saddler in the town. From these I got but little information. I then turned my attention to the beautiful work got up by your able townsman, Dr. Hibbert Ware. In this work there are some remarks on the architecture of the church, by the late Mr. Palmer. I hoped this would assist me much; but I was much staggered by the view this gentleman took of the subject. He states, from the authority of Hollingworth, that Huntington built the choir and its aisles, but that the choir only went up to the lower arches, and did not include the clerestory. He then states, strange to say, and without quoting any authority, that warden Stanley, who succeeded Huntington, only about twenty years after his death, pulled down nearly all Huntington's work, and rebuilt it.

I should here mention that warden Huntington was succeeded by Booth, who remained at Manchester a very short time, having been fined by Edward the Fourth for taking part with the house of Lancaster; he was deposed, and was succeeded by Langley, or Longley, in 1465. In 1481, Langley resigned the mastership to James Stanley, who died in 1485, and was succeeded by another James Stanley, brother to the powerful earl of Derby, the great favourite of Henry the Seventh. It is well to keep these dates in mind.

It was clear, then, the most important thing for me to consider was, what building was on the spot *before* Huntington's time, and so to follow downwards in chrono-



Fig. 1.



Ordsall.

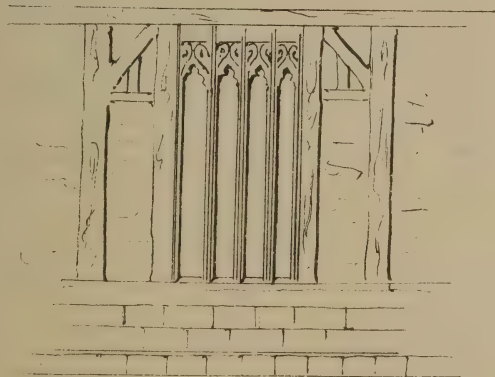
Fig. 3.



Fig . 2



Stand

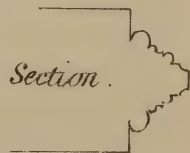


Window at Stand

Tracery.



Section.





logical order the different evidences on the subject. And here I met a very curious circumstance, and if my information and conjectures are at all correct, one of the greatest interest, not only to this town, but to every architectural archæologist in the kingdom. In my previous search in the British Museum, I found among the MSS. collected by Dr. Cole one giving some account of the wardens of Manchester, which seems quite to have escaped the attention of every one who has written on this subject. It is among what are technically called "the additional manuscripts", and is numbered 5,836. This MS. states that "the present church consists of a stately stone building, being formerly a very large edifice, but of wood." And this is confirmed by Hollingworth. He says it was "formerly a vast wooden building, not much unlike (save probably it was more adorned) to the booths where the court leete, court baron of the lord, and the quarter sessions are now kept." Credible tradition, he goes on to state, says that portions of the old wooden church were removed to Ordsall and other places, particularly to Trafford, where in his time it was standing, and called the great barn. On making careful inquiry in the neighbourhood, I was informed this barn was standing not many years ago, and that the same tradition had attached to it, but no vestige of it was now left. I was however told that considerable portions remained at Ordsall and at Stand. I went immediately to Ordsall, and was received with the greatest politeness by the proprietor, Mr. Martindale, who immediately took me to a large barn which he said a very old tradition had always pointed out as part of the original church; and he called my attention to the very great age of the oak, and the peculiarities of the framing. I made a hasty sketch of it, which is in Plate xx, fig. 1. It will at once be seen how much it partakes in character of a nave and side aisles. In fact, it resembles a church with piers and arches, as much in character as timber supports and raking braces can do, and would be most admirably suited for our colonies, or any place where timber is abundant, and all other material scarce. But more of this hereafter. I next proceeded to Stand, where I found a similar tradition. I was immediately shewn what was stated to have been part of the old church at Manchester, but it is in one

span only, and much more ornamented than that at Ordsall. I made a hasty sketch of this, and of its windows, which are also in Plate xx, fig. 2. If the part at Ordsall was the nave, it is not improbable this was the chancel. The character of the work is quite that of the decorated period. The roof is the exact counterpart of that at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, a drawing of which is given in Bloxam's Manual, and which was built in 1350; and the wind braces, purlins, etc., are exactly like those of the Guestern Hall at Worcester.

There is no record of the date of the erection of the wooden church near the Baron's Hull. In the survey of the manor in 1322, no mention is made of the baron's residence; but Hollingworth speaks of it in the very next paragraph; so that it is not likely to have been built before the date of the survey, and probably was shortly after. It is also probable that the wooden church was built about the same time, and if so, the similarity to Adderbury would be at once explained. We have now, first, the authority of the chroniclers as to the removal of the old church; next, the tradition handed down from father to son ("*Percrebuit vetus et constans opinio*" to use the words of Suetonius); next, we have the resemblance in style with other work whose date is known; and besides, there is another material fact—Stand Hall belonged to the Stanley family, and was built by one of them at the period Stanley was warden of Manchester; at the time, in fact, when the wooden church was being cleared away. Of course, among so much conjectural evidence, it would be wrong to speak too positively; but if their united testimony be correct, and if we have under our consideration part of the old wooden church at Manchester, it cannot fail to be of the deepest interest, not only to the inhabitants, but to every architect and antiquary, as shewing the character of the timber churches of our ancestors.

This country, it is well known, was once filled with erections of this kind, in those parts where stone was scarce. It has generally been considered that Greenstead, in Essex, is the only existing example; but my friend, Mr. Charles Baily, has made some researches in Worcestershire, and has found a church at Besford entirely of wood, fitted and framed in every respect like this. These

examples, if collected, will do much to enlighten us as to the methods employed by our ancestors in these erections. The church at Greenstead has a timber head and cill, filled in with upright boards, but at Besford and at Stand they are framed of oak, hewn square in large square panels, with braces at the angles, and the sides are fitted in with plastering, or parget, like our ancient timber houses. The original window at Besford is of two lights, square-headed, and with pointed decorated cusplings at the heads. The one at Stand is similar, but has four lights. It will be seen at once that the nature of the framing is such as to make it very difficult and expensive to use the pointed window. The nature of the material would render it impossible to have buttresses, and consequently necessitate a level tie beam. In every respect they would be suitable for the colonies. I have materials before me now whence I could design churches quite of medieval character, and which would be exactly suited for Canada and Australia.

One more relic of the old church remains. It is an ancient carved head, which formerly was fixed up in some old timber house adjacent, but which, by the care of the rev. canon Wray, has been preserved and placed on the screen behind the altar. It is a boldly carved head in oak, and is a very curious relic of the old fabric. (See Plate xx, fig. 3.)

We must now return to the present church. I think there is irrefragable proof that part of a stone building was commenced long before the wardenship of Huntington. Not only does the tower doorway prove this, but the whole of the lower part, as high as perhaps two-thirds of the way up the great west window, is of the decorated period. The gablets to the buttresses at this stage are quite of this character; above, they are decidedly perpendicular. Besides, at this height, the stones are of larger size, and the tooth of time has not gnawed them so much as it has in the lower part of the walls of the tower. It is true we have no account of the commencement of such a building; but we rather fill up a gap in the history than run counter to it by our theory.

There is one curious circumstance that will be seen on the plan; the choir of the church is not exactly in the middle. The columns on one side range with those of the

nave, on the other they are considerably drawn in; they coincide with the Lady chapel, and not with the main body of the church. This also will favour the supposition that the Lady chapel and tower were commenced at the same time, at opposite ends, and without due regard to the future church. This kind of chapel is of late introduction; I do not remember anything of the kind in any early Norman building; later, however, there is scarcely a church of any size or pretension without one. My impression is that these works were commenced and were going on when Huntington was elected. I have no doubt that it is from having overlooked this point that Mr. Palmer, in his treatise, which is an admirable tract, considering how little was known comparatively at the time, has so confused his subject. He found decided alteration in the Lady chapel arch, and he also found upon the tower the remains of a water table, one of those courses of projecting stones which run, in a raking direction, up the side of the tower, close to the lead or slating, and whose use is to prevent the water getting between the roof and the tower. He also noticed the rebus of Huntington in the spandril of the roof on the east side of the chancel arch.

I have no doubt it was from these circumstances Mr. Palmer formed his theory; for he quotes no authority whatever to prove the startling facts he relates. He admits that Huntington built the choir; this cannot be controverted from the passage in Hollingworth given in page 43 (the same account is also given in the British Museum manuscript); but he builds this strange theory on all this, that Stanley pulled down all Huntington's work, rebuilt it, and replaced the roof with Huntington's rebus in it. I have no doubt that the lower part of the arch in the Lady chapel was the original work before Huntington's time; and that the water table was part of the original tower, and intended to protect the roof of the old wooden church. But there is a proof that Huntington raised the Lady chapel arch, and not Stanley, and a very simple one; and it is astonishing that Mr. Palmer should have overlooked it. Huntington's rebus is placed over that arch, as well as at the chancel arch, not in the woodwork, but actually worked in the stone itself. What, then, becomes of the theory that the present work is Stanley's? My own im-

pression is, Hollingworth's account is strictly correct, that Huntington built the choir and its north and south aisles; and I go farther; I have no doubt that he intended to have added two transepts, and made a cruciform structure of the whole. The eastern walls, at the end of the St. James' and Byrom's chantry, have a plinth moulding or base table moulding on them, which evidently has been intended for an external moulding. Such a thing has never been seen as an internal moulding. There can be no doubt that these walls were intended to be parts of the north and south transepts.

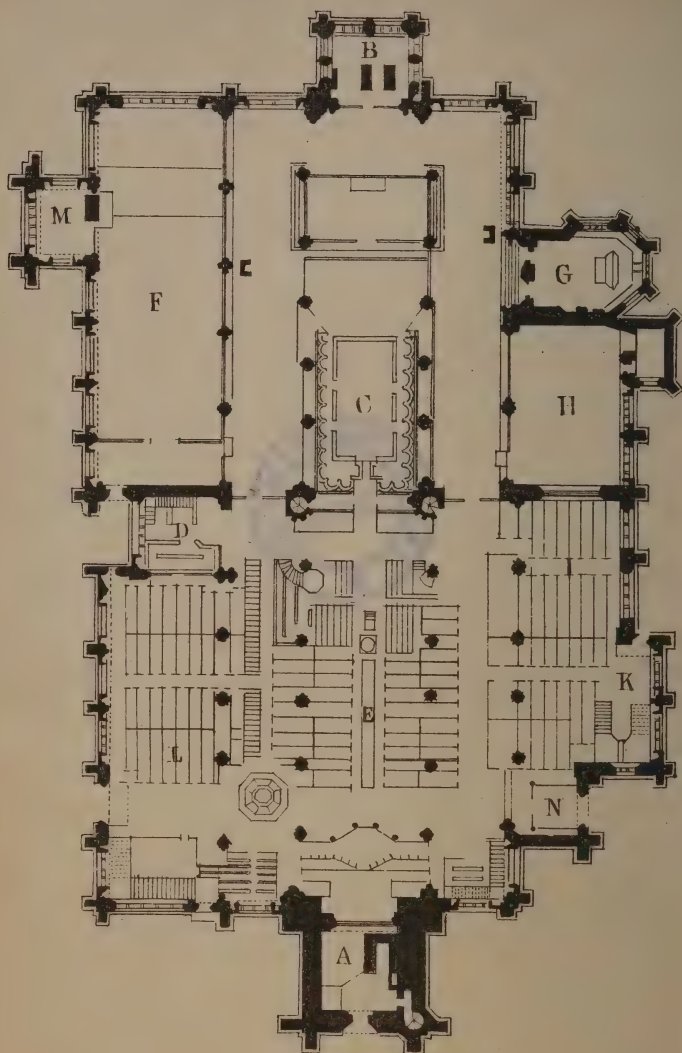
We now pass on to the wardenship of Langley. Mr. Palmer says, he expended the sum of 28*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on that part of the church between the pulpit and the steeple, and that though the record is ambiguous (and he does not say whence he gets it), it is probably meant for the church at Manchester. The British Museum manuscript says nothing of the sort, but it does say that Langley gave to the church bells and chimes. Old Dr. Cole has written in the margin: "This cannot be correct, as chimes were not used so early." Now if bells were given, there most probably was a tower to put them in; and as to chimes, the abbot of Evesham, within a few years after that period, placed not only chimes, but figures to strike on the bells, something like the old St. Dunstan's clock, as this Association saw there at the time we had the pleasure to make our excursion thither from Worcester. If the manuscript be correct, and there seems no reason to doubt it, Manchester is the first town in the kingdom which possessed a set of chimes; and it is probable that Langley completed the tower.

The nave is of course of later date than the choir; all authorities seem to confirm this; but it is designed closely in the same style, and no doubt is the carrying out of the original purpose of Huntington by other hands. Mr. Palmer states that Langley laid out £28 on it, which in our money, he thinks equal to £400. This is certainly overstated, but even if it be so, £400 would go but little way towards building so large a nave. The probability is that Langley commenced the nave upon the plan of his predecessor, and that it was finished by the rich and powerful Stanley.

That Stanley built the chapel which bears his name, we have the authority of all the authors, but the style does not correspond exactly with that of the nave. And here let me pause to remark, that while many are framing long and intricate systems of nomenclature to express the different styles and their transitions; while we are subdividing the Norman, early English, and decorated, in a way that seems to savour of almost hypercritical nicety, and torturing our ingenuity to vary their nomenclature, no one seems to endeavour to discriminate the differences of the perpendicular. The style in which there were such changes as the introduction of the four-centred arch, the air-hung pendants, and the fan-tracery groining, seems wholly to have escaped the notice of those whose attention seems directed to the tracery of windows, and to this alone. In the Stanley chapel, the arches over the new piers are struck from four centres, while those of the nave are of similar ones to those of the choir; to a close observer, it would indicate the difference of architectural feeling of nearly half a century. Unfortunately the clerestory windows have been so altered that we cannot pronounce with certainty the period of their completion. Still these arches are much depressed, their general character is that of a late perpendicular, and as far as we can tell from their altered character, all strengthens the theory that Stanley completed the nave. The beautiful little chapter-house is also his work; whether it has ever been groined it is impossible to say; the vaulting shafts are there, but there are now no traces of ribs or cross springers. The entrance is peculiarly chaste and beautiful; and it is to be regretted that the modern monument has been inserted above the spandrils of the arches. This was originally a small vestry, as may be seen by the junction of the earlier and later work.

We will now turn our attention to the Stanley chantry, which was built by the bishop for his own monumental chapel. The Cole MS. mentions this in two places. In one place he describes it thus, under the head of Stanley's mastership: "Also that another chapel he built at Manchester, on the north side of the church, between St. James' chapel and the east of the church, in which chapel and tomb he would have £100 bestowed." Again, in another place he says: "At Manchester he built a most





GROUND PLAN.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

sumptuous chapel on the north side of the church, being twenty-eight yards long, and nine yards broad (these dimensions agree exactly), and a square chapel on the north side of that again. He builded the south side of the wood work in the choir, the seats for the wardens, fellows, and churchmen, being thirty seats on both sides, and Mr. Richard Bexwike, that builded Jesus chapel, builded the other side." The chapel is frequently called the Derby chapel, and is full of the different badges and emblems of that rich and powerful family. The work has been restored so entirely, that it is impossible to pronounce on it with certainty; but if Mr. Palmer's account be correct, that with the exception of the bit of Batty-Langley-ism in St. George's chapel, and the porch, the rest of the work has been restored as closely copying the old as could be, I should imagine the windows to have been those of Huntington's old choir removed northward, and that the piers and arches are Stanley's. Perhaps I may here remark, that the north and south windows of the Lady chapel have evidently been copied from decorated work,—an additional proof that this building was commenced before Huntington's time.

Bishop Stanley's example seems to have created a feeling in Manchester for which I do not remember a parallel anywhere else. Before his fine chapel could have been completed, the Jesus chapel was built by Bexwith, a merchant of Manchester, in 1506. The Trafford chapel next it was, according to Hollingworth, built in the same year; the St. George's chapel was built by Galley in 1508; the Strangeways chapel in the same year; the Oldham chapel before 1519, and the Bibby porch very shortly after. The church, in fact, became surrounded, I could almost say incrusted, with these different chantries, as may be seen in our plan, Plate *xxi*. If the modern galleries and screens could be removed, it would have the most picturesque effect. The only buildings at all like it in England are, Chichester cathedral, and St. Michael's, Coventry. The effect of the former is much injured by the huge Norman piers which obstruct the perspective view: a portion only of the latter has five aisles. Could but the unfortunate piece of tapestry be removed, and a proper screen be substituted,—could we but get a fair view of the

building, catching arch behind arch, and pier behind pier, we should have an effect unequalled perhaps in England, and possessing one of those features which so fascinate the visitors to the Arabian mosques; such as that at Cordova, for instance, where the eye seems lost in an endless perspective of column and arch, with bright and reflected lights, and depths of shade, alternating, and intermixed in a way we can get in no other style of building.

The choir at Manchester is certainly of remarkable beauty, the architecture extremely light and pure, the roof excellent in design and execution, while the wood-work of the stalls is fine in the extreme. That on the south side, as has been before stated, was built by bishop Stanley. The stall end near the west entrance contains the curious carving of the eagle in the tree with the child, upon which Mr. Planché has written so able a paper. The eastern stall end on the north side bears the merchant's mark, etc., of Richard Bexwike, who, as has been stated before, built this side of the stalls. The mark has been wrongly described; instead of a triangle fretted with an annulet, it is the A and O, intended for Alpha and Omega, interlaced and surmounted by a cross patée, fitched in the foot, between the gothic letters *r* and *b*; this is borne on the dexter side of the shield, per fess above the grocer's arms; a chevron between six cloves in chief, and three in base, and impales a demi-virgin, with her hair dishevelled, issuing from the clouds; the arms of the mercers' company. The wood-work on each side of the choir is alike, except that there is a richly carved member at the top of the canopies on the north side, which does not exist on the south side. This work is very superior in design and execution to that of the screens in the other parts of the church, and evidently has been executed by different hands. In fact, that in the choir bears exactly the appearance of the work usually called Flemish carving, of which we possess examples in many of our cathedrals. The great trade of Manchester with the continent renders this a very probable supposition. The carvings under the miserere seats are extremely good. They bear marks of the usual turn for ridicule usually found in such a situation, without the grossness we so often observe. The schoolmaster's seat has an old fox instructing a parcel of cubs, one of whom is being

chastised with a rod. The first cantor's seat has a bear worried by dogs; they have got him by the ears, and he seems to be roaring lustily—probably a sly quiz at the quality of the cantor's voice.

The chapels, and in fact nearly the whole exterior, has been cased and repaired in that sort of way as to make it impossible to speak with certainty of any architectural peculiarities. Hollingworth describes the painted glass in the interior to be of great beauty. He mentions a large statue of St. George in the chapel called by that name; "the horse from which was lately", he says, "in the saddler's shop. The statues of the Virgin Mary, St. Dyonyse, the other patron saints, were upon the two highest pillars next to the quire; unto them men did bow at their coming into the church." Perhaps the most remarkable record is that of the Strangeways chapel. "In it there is a pardon under the picture of the resurrection of Christ from the sepulchre. The pardon for five paternosters, five aves, and a creede, is xxvj thousand, and xxvj days of pardon."

Although there have been extensive repairs, in some instances almost rebuilding, going on from 1685 to the present day; and although we may perhaps lose many matters of archæological interest in the process, still it must be confessed that the restorations have been carried on here in an infinitely better spirit, and with more success, than it has been the fortune of this association to meet with elsewhere. There are one or two places where what is done offends the eye; but when we consider that it is only within a few years, and owing alone to the laborious researches bestowed on the subject, particularly the study of mouldings, which is, as it were, the comparative anatomy of architecture, that we are arriving at something like a definite knowledge of the details of Gothic architecture,—when we reflect on this, we must confess that the greatest credit is due to all concerned in carrying them out. It certainly would have been satisfactory had we been able to speak as to the original state of the clerestory windows; and there is one very picturesque feature, evidently a restoration, but probably, like the rest, as nearly resembling the old work as can be. I allude to the three pinnacles on each angle of the tower. These clusters have a very beautiful effect. I know nothing like it in England,

except great St. Mary's, at Cambridge. The whole tower top is indeed very fine. With an increasing veneration for the relics of the past, and with the increased knowledge we have of Gothic architecture, I am sure the same paths will be pursued with better effect. It is impossible for any inhabitant of Manchester, when he looks round his vast city and sees that this is the only ecclesiastical relic of the days of his forefathers; and when he considers its historic interest and intrinsic beauties, not to regard it with reverence,—I could almost say, affection. As it is impossible for a stranger, however well he may be skilled in his subject, in so short a time to collect all the points of interest in so wide a range,—let me hope that the local antiquary will not forget to follow it out. If my address has awakened any interest in the building, and may lead to its further preservation, restoration, or illustration, I am indeed more than amply repaid for the trouble I have taken in its investigation.¹

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN OF MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL,

PLATE XXI.

A.	The tower	} built circa 1330.
B.	St. Mary's or Lady chapel	
C.	The choir	} built by John Huntington, circa 1440.
D.	St. James's chantry, formerly the north transept	
E.	The nave	} built by bp. James Stanley, circa 1490.
F.	St. John the Baptist's or Derby chapel	
G.	The chapter-house	} built by the same, circa 1500.
H.	Jesus' chapel	
I.	The Trafford Chapel	} built by Bexwith, a merchant of Manchester, in 1506.
K.	St. George's chapel	
L.	The Strangeways chapel	} built in 1508.
M.	The Oldham chapel	
N.	The Bibby porch	} built in 1518.

¹ I took the opportunity at the meeting, which I gladly take again, to express my thanks for the kind and courteous assistance afforded me by the lord bishop, the dean, the rev. canons Wray and Johnson, and the learned

librarian of the Chetham college, Mr. Jones. However pleasing it is to acknowledge a debt of gratitude, it is doubly so when it has been conferred on a stranger; and is not only a kindness, but a valuable assistance.



ON THE STANLEY CREST.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

THE crest of the Stanleys, earls of Derby—an eagle, with wings expanded, *or*, feeding (or, according to some heralds), preying on, an infant, swaddled, *gules*, banded of the first—is familiar to us all; but more especially to the inhabitants of Lancashire: the county of which the venerable and venerated chief of that illustrious family is the lord lieutenant, and wherein the scene has been laid of the events tradition has handed down to us as the origin of this heraldic curiosity.

The elaborate and valuable essay on the Stanley legend, written by the historian of Cheshire, Dr. Ormerod, for the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, and which has been reprinted separately, is, I should imagine, almost as well known as its subject to a large proportion of my auditors.

It will be necessary for me, however, not only for the sake of those present, who may not have heard the legend, but of those whose recollections of it may not be sufficiently perfect, to tell the story in as few words as possible.

The earliest authority for it, known to be extant, is an historical poem on the Stanley family, written by Thomas Stanley, bishop of Man (between the years 1510-1570), two centuries after the assumed date of the incident. An imperfect copy of this poem is contained in the Harleian MS., No. 541, and a modernized transcript of a larger portion in Cole's MSS., vol. xxix, with this memorandum attached to it: "Copied for me by a person who has made many mistakes, and sent to me by my friend Mr. Allen, rector of Toporley, in 1758." The bishop's account is simply, that lord Lathom, dwelling at Lathom hall, was a man of fourscore years of age, and his lady as old; and that being without hope of issue, God did send them an heir most miraculously. For an eagle had her nest in Terlestowe wood, in which were three fair birds that were ready to fly; and one day she brought to them a goodly boy, "swaddled and clad in a mantle of red"; the news of which reaching lord Lathom, he rode with all speed to the wood, and found the babe preserved, by God's grace; and causing it to be fetched down, he brought it to his lady at Lathom, where they took it as their own, and "thanked God of all". The child was apparently unchristened, for salt was bound round its neck in a linen cloth. They had it baptized, therefore, by the name of Oskell, and made it their heir after them. "From whence the child came", saith the bishop, "the truth no man can show; neither where nor what place it was fetched fro':" but the foundling grew up to manhood, and became the father of Isabella Lathom, with whom sir John Stanley fell in love; and "within short time", runs the poem, "he stole her away"; or, as the right reverend prelate jocosely suggests:

" *She stole him*,— I know not whether,
But they were not well till they came together."

Sir Oskell, however, was a good-natured man, and a tender father: He forgave the young couple; and having honourably lived, he godly made his end, leaving sir John Stanley and the fair Isabella to mourn his decease, and enjoy his property.

Various versions of this story are related by Dr. Ormerod and also by Mr. Mark Anthony Lower, in his *Curiosities of Heraldry*; in one of which it is stated that the child was

an illegitimate son of the lord of Lathom, who, having abandoned and exposed it in the nest of an eagle, discovered, to his astonishment, that the bird, instead of devouring the helpless infant, had protected and fostered it; upon which the cruel parent relented, took the boy home, and made him his heir. In another it is said, that sir Thomas Lathom, having no male issue by his wife, and wishing to adopt an illegitimate son, resorted to the *ruse* of having the infant placed in an eagle's nest, and then taking his lady into the wood, discovered the child as if by accident, and causing him to be rescued from his perilous couch, presented him to his lady, who, ignorant of his consanguinity to her lord, joyfully acquiesced in his proposal to make the miraculously preserved foundling heir to their estate.

In Seacome's history of the house of Stanley, there is a similar account, derived from another branch of the family, with the important addition that the adopted child was discarded before the death of sir Thomas, who repented the fraud he had practised on his legal heirs. It is further stated that on the adoption, sir Thomas Lathom had assumed for his crest, an eagle upon wing, turning his head and looking "in a sprightly manner" as for something she had lost; and that on the discovery of the fact, the Stanleys (one of whom had married the legal heiress of the estate), either to distinguish or to aggrandize themselves, or in contempt or derision, took upon them the eagle and child, thus manifesting the variation and the reason of it.

Dr. Ormerod, however, has utterly demolished all these ingenious fabrications, invented, no doubt, to account for a singular cognizance, the origin of which was lost in the shades of antiquity. He has proved by incontestable official documents that the sir Thomas Lathom of the legend was succeeded by a son, also named Thomas, who enjoyed, indisputably, Knowsley and Childwall at least, with other manors, and at his death, in 1383, left an infant heiress, named Elena, whose claims, as "*cousin¹ and next heir*", were opposed by virtue of an alleged entail by Isabel Lathom, wife of sir John Stanley, who entered irregularly on Lathom,—John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and as

¹ By which, in medieval documents, meant any blood-relation, and not it is perhaps as well to mention, is as we now understand the phrase.

such, superior lord of Lathom, steadily opposing him. It further appears that the question was litigated as late as 1386, when it turned in favour of Stanley, and he was in undoubted possession of Lathom, and Knowsley, and their dependencies, before the ninth of Henry IV, 1407-8. All foundation, therefore, for the scandal of a spurious heir, is gratuitous, as no such charge is known to be made in support of the claim of sir John Stanley in right of his wife, and we must consequently look for the explanation of this celebrated crest to history, and not tradition—to facts, and not to fiction.

In the reign of Edward III, the seal of sir Thomas Lathom, confounded by Vincent with the sir Oskell, or sir Oskatell, of the legend, (but who, if the story were true, would be the adopter, and not the adopted), presents us with an eagle displayed, charged on the breast with an escutcheon of the arms of Lathom (see plate xxii, fig. 2), *or*, on a chief indented, *azure*, three plates, or *besants*, supposed by Dr. Ormerod to be derived from the arms of Butler, from which family the Lathoms trace their maternal descent. (Vide seal of sir Robert de Lathom, 1250, Plate xxii, fig. 1.) The Torbocks of Torbock, issuing from Richard Fitz-Henry, brother of Robert de Lathom, founder of the priory of Burscough, bear the same coat, with the difference of an eagle's leg erased, *gules*;¹ and in the visitation of the county of Lancaster, Harleian MS., 6159, their crest is an eagle displayed, *vert*, beaked and membered, *gules*, and collared, *or*. (See plate xxiii, fig. 1).

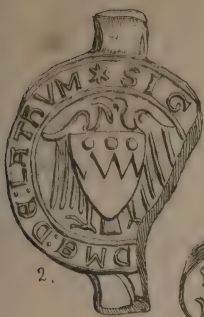
The Lathoms of Irlam, stated by Seacombe to be descendants of the sir Oskell, or Oskatell de Lathom, of the tradition, are said to have inherited a signet from him, of which the biographer gives an engraving, exhibiting "on a wreath an eagle rising" (see plate xxiii, fig. 2), and an eagle either with or without the swaddled child, represented in various attitudes, "preying", "rising", "close", or "displayed", was assumed by, or granted to, every branch of the family; but with the exception of the seal of sir Thomas de Lathom before mentioned, and one of William de Torbock, on which is seen an eagle with folded wings, or, as heralds term it, "close"² (see plate xxii, fig. 3), there is no authority, that I am aware of, earlier in date

¹ An eagle's leg, erased, *or*, is one of the badges of the house of Stanley. Vide plate xxv, from the carvings in Man-

chester Cathedral.

² As engraved in Baines' *Lancashire*, the bird is more like a dove than an eagle.

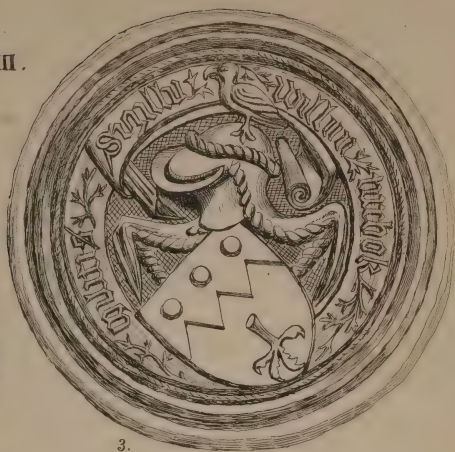
PLATE XXII.



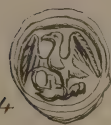
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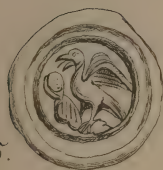
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10.

Charles Bailey F.S.A. 1850.





PLATE XXIII.



1.



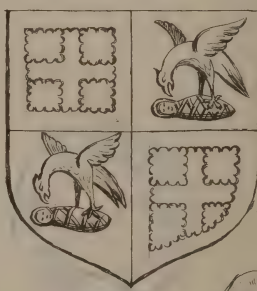
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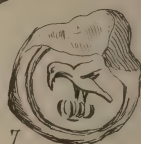
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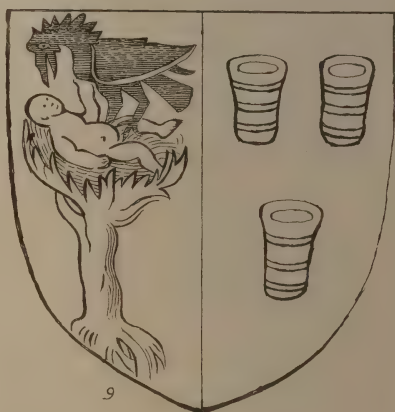
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7.



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9.

Charles Bailey, F.S.A., 1850.

THE

STANLEY

CREST

than the metrical history of bishop Stanley, in which the story first appears. The windows in Astbury church, Cheshire, formerly exhibited figures of several of the Lathom family with their armorial bearings. These windows Dr. Ormerod states to have been "nearly of the time of Edward III"; but in the Harleian MS., No. 2151, are drawings of these figures by the indefatigable Randal Holmes; and the costume and ornaments, even had we no other evidence, prove that they are upwards of one hundred years later than Dr. Ormerod dates them. The persons represented in them were living in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the windows were put up, or painted, in commemoration of them by their descendants in the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII; and those exhibiting the effigies of sir Robert Massey in the same church, and precisely similar in execution, are dated 1493. In one of these instances the crest of Lathom is an eagle standing on an empty cradle. (See plate xxii, fig. 8).

We next come to the windows of Northenden church, Cheshire. "It may be difficult", says Dr. Ormerod, "to select a much earlier instance of the Stanley bearing than are given in the windows of Northenden church, in the memorials for sir John Stanley, of Elford, and Humphrey Stanley, canon of Christchurch, where both eagles, that is to say, the eagle preying and the eagle rising, are given as a matter of heraldic indifference, with infants underwritten Ostell and Oskell Lathom". These crests are also drawn in the same Harleian MS.; and in one instance you perceive that the eagle is standing over the child in a nest; in the other it is depicted in an attitude approaching that which the heralds term preying, and in the centre of a tree (see plate xxii, fig. 9 & 10). Here again the dates are very late; John Stanley having died in 1508, and Humphrey in 1557! A much earlier example, however, I have now the pleasure of pointing out to you, through the kindness of Mr. Langton, who possesses a cast of the seal of sir John de Stanley of the time of Henry V, A.D. 1415, about thirty years only after the termination of the suit (see plate xxii, fig. 4). Here are also diagrams from casts of seals in the same collection of Thomas lord Stanley, A.D. 1477 and 1484 (see plate xxii, fig. 5, 6). And here is another, copied from an exceedingly interesting heraldic



MS. in the Harleian collection, No. 6163 (see woodcut, page 199). The achievement is superscribed "Lord of Darby", and therefore cannot be older than 1485, in which year Thomas lord Stanley was created earl of Derby; but even this is earlier than the Northenden windows, and perhaps of the Astbury. Here is also a seal of the same noble earl, from Mr. Langton's collection. (See plate xxii, fig. 7.)

It would be idle to speculate upon the reasons for so many variations of this celebrated crest. They may have been either heraldic differences, to mark the particular branches of the family, or alterations made according to the fancy, or in consequence of the ignorance, of the artist. My object is to point out a probable origin of the crest in its complete and most popular form, and the clue to it I think is to be found in the following passage in Camden's *Britannia*.

"After Chatmosse appears Holcroft, which gave both name and residence to the illustrious family of Holcroft, which was anciently enlarged by the heirs of Culchit. The last place is in its neighbourhood, and was held by Gilbert de Culchit, in fee of Almeric the cupbearer, who held it in fee of the earl de Ferrers, in Henry III's time. His eldest daughter and heir being married to Richard Fitz-hugh,¹ he took the name of Culchit, as did Thomas his brother, who married the second daughter, that of Holcroft, from the estate, another for the like reason of Peasfalong, and a fourth of Risely."

Now here we find that Richard and Thomas, sons of Hugh de Hindley, married two daughters of Gilbert de Culchit in the reign of Henry III, and assumed the names of Culchit and Holcroft from the estates they had with their wives; and that the husbands of the two other daughters of the same Gilbert assumed, for the like reason, the names of Peasfalong and of Risely. It does not appear that the Lathom family intermarried with, or were in any way connected with, the Culchits, the Holcrofts, or the Riselys; but in the arms of all these families a bird and a child hold a conspicuous position, not as a crest, but as a coat. Singly, as that of Culchit (plate xxiii, fig. 4); some-

¹ De Hindley. Barrett's *MS., Pedigrees of Lanc. Fam.*, in the Chetham library, Manchester.

times in conjunction with a tree, in that of Risely (plate XXIII, fig. 6); and impaled or quartered with *argent*, a cross, and bordure engrailed *sable*, in that of Holcroft (plate XXIII, fig. 5). In the *Testa de Nevil* we have evidence to the fact of William, son of Robert de Risely, holding part of a knight's fee in Risely, of Alicia, countess of Anjou, of whom Robert de Lathom is also a tenant in Alfreton and Normanton. Alina, formerly the wife of Almeric Butler, holds a knight's fee in Crophul with Walter de Staunton, of Thomas de Gretly. The family of Keckwich, or Kekwyk, are said, in the Harleian MS., 6159, to have borne the same coat as Culchit; and in the copy of an inquisition amongst the Townley MSS., we find mention of John de Kekewyke dying, seized of land in the township of West Derby. (Ormskirk, July 3, 1383.) In short, there is great reason to believe that the Lathoms, Gilbert de Culchit and his heirs, were all holders under the same feudal chiefs, and as such, were likely to assume, or have granted to them, as arms of affection, the heraldic insignia of their superior lords. Mr. Ormerod has himself suggested this circumstance as the origin of the coat of Lathom. "It is clear", says he, "to every heraldic eye that the arms of Boteler are the basis of those of Lathom, with a difference no more than an early filial one." He has shown that Robert Fitz-Henry, lord of Lathom, and founder of Burscough priory, married apparently the daughter, and finally heiress, or co-heiress, of Orme Fitz-Ailward and Emma Greslie Gretly, or Gredle, his wife; and that Fitz-Ailward's grandfather was the Orme magnus who married Alice, sister of Herveus Walter, who was the father of Theobald Walter, lord of Amounderness, and chief butler of Ireland, ancestor of the dukes of Ormonde and earls of Carrick, and whose descendants to this day bear, *or*, a chief indented, *azure*. Well, then, the Lathoms, who bear the Butler coat, with a difference of three plates in chief, and who, in the reign of Edward III, placed their escutcheon on the breast of an eagle displayed, are found, when crests become general, bearing the remarkable one which forms a charge in the arms of Culchit, Holcroft, and Risely, the tenants of the heirs of one of a Butler family named Almaric, or Aumari, and it may be connected with that family by marriage, as well

as feudal tenure. That the eagle and child have been derived from the same source in both cases, I cannot for a moment question. That it was a coat, before it was a crest, is no more to be doubted, as crests were not common before the fourteenth century; and the arms of Gilbert de Culchit were assumed by his heirs apparently as early as the reign of Henry III. In the *Visitation of Lancaster*, A.D. 1664, the shield of arms here exhibited is drawn at the head of the pedigree of Risley, and attached to it is this memorandum: "These arms are cut on the old waynscote in the hall at Risley" (see plate XXIII, fig. 8). They are curious as proving that the same variation was practised in the representation of the Risely arms as in that of the Lathom crest. The tree which is seen in other examples is here omitted, as it is in the case of the crest in the windows at Northenden. The bird also in this instance is blazoned sable; and to make assurance double sure, the modest draughtsman has considerably written beside it, "A raven", but elsewhere it is called an eagle, and the colour may have given rise to the less noble epithet. There is another interesting point in the escutcheon: the second and third quarters are *argent*; three ancient drinking horns, *azure*. On a brass in Great Shelford church, Cambridgeshire, a tracing from which was kindly sent to me by our valued associate Mr. Waller, we find the Risely arms, tree and all, impaling three drinking horns of a more humble and familiar form, but undoubtedly intended for the same coat (see plate XXIII, fig. 9). I have not yet been able to identify this coat by any researches I have made either in the Ordinaries at the College of Arms or in the British Museum; but the affinity of the three drinking horns to the three cups borne as allusive arms by so many of the name of Butler, is not to be observed without recalling the tenure of the Culchits under Almeric Pincerna. The pedigree of Lathom of Lathom is defective at the very point to which we must look for the complete proof of their connexion with the Butlers. The pedigrees of Culchit, Holcroft, and Risely, which I have seen, scarcely ascend into the fifteenth century.¹ The family name of the husband of the heiress who had Risley to her portion is yet to ascertain, as also is that of him who assumed the

¹ Vide seal of a Risely. Temp. Philip and Mary. Plate XXIII, fig. 7.



CARVING ON WARDEN'S STALL, MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.



BADGE OF STANLEY AND EACLE IN NEST, FROM WARDEN'S STALL.

name of Peasalong. But heraldry is a clue, which rightly handled, can guide us to the very heart of the labyrinth. The foundling of Terlestowe wood has been dispossessed by an antagonist as redoubtable as a Stanley; but the names of Orme and Ailward conjure up visions of an elm tree and an eagle's ward, which further researches may give more substantial existence to. The marriage of Orme, the father of Ailward, with Alice, the daughter of Herveus, is a fact to start from. The typifying names or possessions by the representation of things, animate or inanimate, bearing similar appellations, is a fact too well known to need more than an allusion to at present; but a more appropriate example cannot be afforded than the one in the carving, representing this legend, on the Warden's stall in Manchester cathedral, executed by order of James Stanley, bishop of Ely, where we find a procession of stonemasons with their tools introduced, merely to signify the name of the family, by its conformity in sound to "Lathomi" (see plate xxiv). My impression I repeat is, that we shall discover this singular crest to be but an Anglo-Norman rebus of the name of a Saxon ancestor, and that it was a cognizance of one of the families of Pincerna, or le Boteler (if, indeed, they were not the same family), which was assumed by, or granted to, the Culchits for a coat, and the Lathoms as heirs general for a crest, surmounting the arms of Boteler, with the necessary difference. Permit me to conclude these very superficial observations with a hope that local antiquaries will take up this subject, with all the advantages they possess in the shape of private family documents. The result in any case must prove of considerable importance to the history of the county palatine of Lancaster; and should I have been fortunate enough to have directed their researches in a new and right direction, I shall have great additional cause for the gratification I feel in having been allowed to address you on the present occasion.

The following notes, in further illustration of the pedigree of the Lathom family, have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. W. Langton, of Manchester:—

"Dodsworth has preserved four inquisitions, which throw

¹ Vide Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, p. 190.

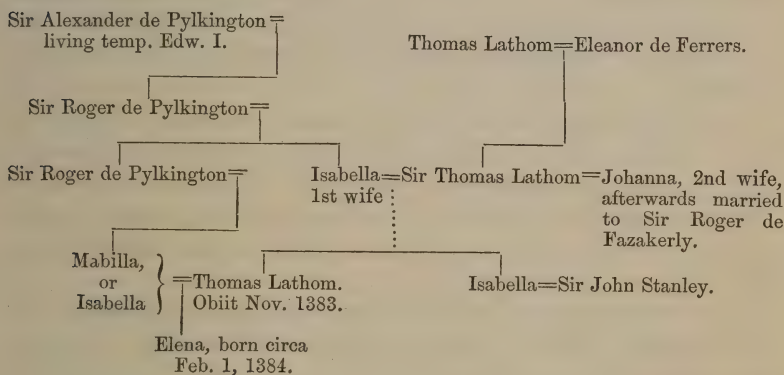
some light on the family history of the Lathoms. One of these, held at Ormskirk, July 3rd, 1383, records that sir Thomas (fils Thome) de Lathom, then deceased, had married Isabella, daughter of Roger de Pilkington, and that after that, he had been seised of the manor of Lathom, until he vested it in trustees. We have here, therefore, the name and parentage of the lady whose daughter Isabella became ultimately the heiress of the property, and conveyed it into the family of Stanley. Sir Thomas appears afterwards to have contracted a very unhappy marriage with a lady named Johanna, and supposed to have been of the family of Venables. By an inquisition, held at Lancaster, March 6th, 1335, we find that during sir Thomas de Lathom's last illness, she grossly misconducted herself, and, after his death, buried him with indecent haste, marrying immediately her paramour, Roger de Fazakerlegh."

"Thomas de Lathom, son of the above sir Thomas (fils Thome) de Lathom, appears also to have married one of the Pilkington family, named Mabilla, the daughter of a sir Roger de Pilkington (there were two in succession, son and grandson of sir Alexander de Pilkington, who lived in the reign of Edward I), and to have died in November 1383, leaving as his heir an infant named Ellena, who, in the inquisition, taken at Manchester, March 15th, 1384, is stated to be six weeks old."

"In another inquisition, taken at Lancaster, February 22nd, 1385, Ellena is found to be heir of entail to the first Thomas de Lathom, son of Robert de Lathom, and to be then aged one year and one month. She must have been alive in 1387, as is gathered from an inquisition on R. de Torbock, but we have not been able yet to discover when she died."

These facts are of the utmost value in clearing up several dubious points of the Lathom descent; and the information we derive from them enables us to decide that sir Thomas de Lathom had two wives, and that Isabella de Lathom, who married sir John Stanley, was not the daughter of Johanna, his second, but of Isabella de Pilkington, his first wife, daughter of sir Roger de Pilkington the elder, and mother also by sir Thomas, of Thomas de Lathom, his son and heir. That this last Thomas married a daughter of the younger sir Roger de Pilkington, and consequently his cou-

sin, named Mabilla, according to Dodsworth and Townley, and Isabella, according to the documents quoted by Dr. Ormerod, and died in November 1383. That Elena, his daughter, was consequently *a posthumous child*, being born on or about the 1st of February 1384, as she is proved to have been six weeks old on the 15th of March in that year, and one year and one month old on the 22nd of February 1385. The state of sir Thomas de Lathom's health, which is minutely detailed in the inquisition of March 6th, 1385, was probably the origin of the scandalous story on which one version of the legend was founded, as well as the great age and hopelessness of issue ascribed to "the lord Lathom" in the more decorous account of bishop Stanley, and the posthumous birth of his grandchild, Elena, might also partly account for the opposition of the Stanleys.



ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE NORMAN FORTRESS IN ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A.

THE study of antiquities is confessedly a branch of history. From the mouldering ruin, or the partially defaced inscription, not only do we occasionally glean facts which bear upon the story of our race, but we acquire impressions

more vivid than any that we can derive from the perusal of the mere lettered narrative.

One object of the migratory meetings of this Association is the diffusion of a taste for the study of antiquity. One way of doing this, is to shew, practically, its utility and interest. With this in view, I address myself at once to the subject I have selected, and shall, in the brief space allowed me, lay before you such facts relative to the Norman fortress as may seem important, without regard to originality of view.

The accession of William the Norman to the throne of England was a turning point in our history. It was a terrific but a needful visitation. Intestine strife seemed for a time to paralyse the capabilities of the Anglo-Saxon race; but, after a brief period of anxiety and suffering, the sons of Cerdic and of Offa shewed themselves to the world as more than ever fitted for performing the part which subsequent events have shewn it was the will of Providence they should sustain in the great drama of this world's history.

The Normans, who landed upon our shores in 1066, were few in number compared with the native population; and it being at all times, but especially then, a difficult matter to recruit the forces of an invading army, it was requisite to adopt every precaution to economise the expenditure of military force.

The buildings of the Saxons, whether castellated or ecclesiastical, were of an unambitious character; the Normans were great builders, and in this respect had a decided advantage over their antagonists. It was chiefly by their skill and industry in the erection of strong fortresses, they were enabled to retain that hold of this country which the chances of a disputed succession afforded them. Let us examine the structure of a Norman castle.

The Norman castle did not consist of a single building, such as in modern times we often understand by the term, but of a *series* of fortified erections. The keep, which we now frequently designate the castle, was but a part of the stronghold, and was the resort of the garrison only in times of pressing danger. The castle consisted of the central building, or keep; the upper and lower courts, or baileys, in which were the garrison buildings; with the walls,

gates, barbicans, and ditches, intended to promote the general safety.

The area occupied by a castle was often very considerable. At Newcastle it is about five acres. Norwich castle covered a space of not less than twenty-three acres. Lincoln castle occupied nearly as much. It is recorded that one hundred and sixty-six mansions were destroyed to clear the ground for its erection, and seventy-four more were demolished to give it the advantage of standing alone.

The site chosen for it was usually an elevated spot of ground, naturally defended on two or more sides. The eminence on which Durham castle stands furnishes a good example; it is lofty, and is nearly surrounded by the river Wear.

Excepting in situations where the ground was very precipitous, a ditch was drawn around the enclosure. Where the nature of the level would admit of it, the moat was filled with water.

On the inside of the ditch a strong wall was raised. This was sometimes thirty feet high, and had a thickness of six or eight feet. On the top of it was a platform, protected by a buttress, for the evolutions of the garrison who manned the fort. The curtain wall of the Norman fortress of Richmond is in a nearly perfect state. Its masonry is of a rougher character than the keep, a large portion of the facing stones being undressed. The erection of it has evidently been the first care of the garrison, as the buildings which have been placed against its inner margin have not been tied into it.

One or more gateways, of course, gave access through the wall to the interior space, each of which was defended by a tower and other appliances. These will require a little examination. The drawbridge and the portcullis belong rather to the Edwardian than the Norman castle, yet examples of them are met with of this period. When the foe attacked the fort, the ditch had to be filled up with hurdles or earth before the gate could be reached; and when it was, the uplifted drawbridge formed an additional barrier. The method of attacking a closed gateway was by the battle-axe and by fire; whilst these modes of forcing an entrance were being applied, the garrison from the battlements above were lavish in the use of heavy stones,

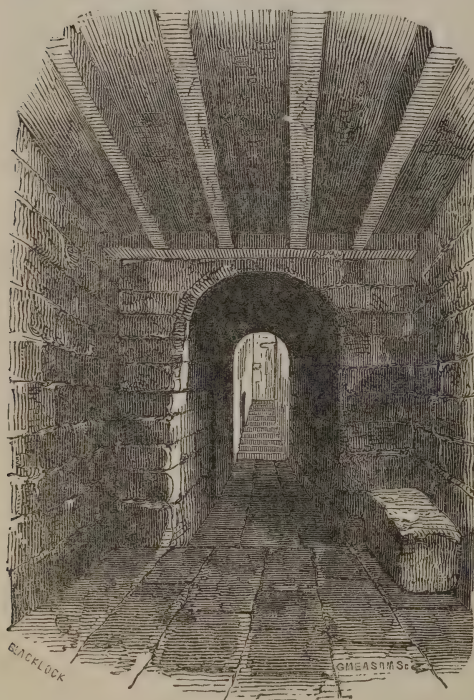
melted lead, or boiling oil, or were engaged in breaking over the casqued heads of the assailants below, earthen vessels filled with hot lime.

In addition to the tower defending a principal gateway, a barbican or advanced work was occasionally added. This was sometimes furnished with a ditch and drawbridge.

Besides the principal entrance into the castle, other apertures which convenience dictated were provided. These

were often very narrow, and were placed in situations so precipitous as to be easily defended. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the south postern gate (see cut) of the Norman period has for eight hundred years survived the chances of war and weather—a very rare case.

Not unfrequently two or even three walls, each of them provided with a moat, surrounded the fortress. This was the case at Norwich, where the gateway through each wall was defended by a



tower on each side of the entrance.

Where concentric walls did not form independent inclosures, a wall was drawn across the general space, dividing it into two courts, called the inner and outer bailey. This enabled the garrison, in case of the outer court being taken, to retreat into the inner.

Immediately within the outer walls of the castle the garrison buildings seem to have been placed. These consisted of the residences of the several officers, a common hall, a place of abode for the soldiery, stables for the

horses, and a chapel for the use of the garrison. At Richmond most of these yet remain. The general character of them is dark, gloomy, and comfortless; bearing more the appearance of dungeons than of the abodes of conquerors.

We now come to the most remarkable part of the fortress—the keep. This was the retreat of the garrison in the event of the outer and inner baileys being carried by the enemy, and on it accordingly the utmost skill of the military architect was lavished.

It was generally placed in the centre of the fortification, as at Norwich, London, and Newcastle. This was not universally the case. At Porchester it is placed on an angle of the castle wall, and at Richmond it secures the entrance into the outer bailey.

When circumstances allowed of it, it was placed upon a site more elevated than the rest of the fortress. If the ground did not naturally assume the required form, a faced mount was prepared of the materials taken out of the moats. The elevated position of the Round tower at Windsor, which doubtless occupies the situation of an older keep, is familiar to most of us. In ascending from the courtyard of Lincoln castle to the ground floor of the keep, you go up sixty steps. Clifford's tower at York is so placed.

The general form of the Norman keep is that of a quadrilateral figure, nearly approaching to a square. The great thickness of its walls, and the strength of its masonry, almost superseded the use of buttresses. Those which were used seem to have been added for the sake of appearance rather than utility. They consist usually of the common flat Norman buttress, rising from a general plinth, and dying into the wall below its summit. The end pilasters of each face generally unite, and rising above the walls, form turrets at each angle, as at Hedingham and Rochester.

In buildings of the larger class, a smaller tower is attached to the main structure, in order to defend the entrance. The cautious policy of the Normans suggested that the doorway of the keep should not be on the ground floor, but at a considerable elevation. It is sometimes placed on the ground floor, as at Colchester and Bamborough, but this is the exception to the rule. It is gene-

rally placed upon the second story; at Newcastle it is on the third. By this means the lower parts of the building, which were more exposed to the battering rams of the besieging party than the higher, were kept in unimpaired strength; and the attacking party, before reaching the entrance, had to climb a steep staircase, exposed meanwhile to the fire of the garrison. In small buildings the entrance stair is left uncovered, as at Conisborough, though this building is of later date than the true Norman period; but in large fortresses it is uniformly protected by a tower attached to the keep, but still entirely independent of it. The whole of this subsidiary building might be in the hand of the enemy, while the integrity of the citadel remained unimpaired.

The masonry of the keep was of the most formidable character imaginable. At Newcastle there is reason to believe that the whole area of the site has been built up solid from a depth of about fourteen feet to the surface of the ground. The thickness of the walls is in most cases enormous. Twelve and fourteen feet is a common thickness; but there are cases, as at Colchester, where they are thirty feet thick at the bottom. They generally taper off in stages, so as to give to the upper apartments increasing size.

The stones employed in building these walls are of uniformly excellent quality, and were not unfrequently brought from a considerable distance. They were not usually of a size larger than could be conveniently lifted by a man, and were for the most part square in the face. This is well seen at Norham, where the form of the stones, in the older or Norman part of the building, contrasts with those used in subsequent repairs. The *face* of the wall only consisted of regularly squared stones, the interior was composed of gravel. The strength of the whole structure chiefly depended upon the character of the mortar employed. In making it the Roman method was adopted—a method which has long been lost, but which the exigencies of modern railway works have forced our engineers to rediscover. The usual method of making mortar is to slack it by throwing water upon it. It is then mixed with earth, or fine sand, and worked into a thick paste with more water. In this state it is frequently allowed to stand

days or weeks until it is required, when it is again worked up with water. By this means the settling properties of the lime are as nearly as possible destroyed. The mortar, placed in its bed, quickly dries, and forms a crust little more tenacious than a mass of clay. The ancient method, doubtless, has been to grind the lime as it came from the kiln, and after mixing it with coarse sand and gravel, to exclude it from the action of water until the time of its being used. When wanted, it has been mixed very freely with water, and poured, in a sort of semi-fluid state, in its bed, loose rubble being thrust in amongst it. In the course of a few hours the mortar would become solid, and in a few days the wall would present to an enemy a breast-work capable of resisting a battering ram. If these buildings had been constructed of mortar made after the mode usual among builders of the present day, a few pieces of iron hoop would have enabled a besieging army to penetrate any castle even twelve months after it had been built.

Nothing can exceed the firmness of Norman masonry. It is, if possible, harder than unhewn rock. Recently it was necessary to breach the walls of the White tower in London, in order to introduce a tram way into it for the conveyance of ordnance stores. It took a party of sappers and miners six weeks to effect their purpose. We may thus readily conceive how difficult a thing it was, before the invention of gunpowder, and whilst exposed to all the annoyances which the practised ingenuity of the garrison devised, to force an entrance into a Norman keep.

The same policy which suggested that, excepting on very rare occasions, no doorway should exist on the ground floor, required the very sparing introduction of windows. In some instances, as at Richmond, there are none on the ground floor. The room has depended entirely upon artificial light; the staples fixed in the centre of the vaulting shew the places where the lamps have hung.

Where windows are introduced, they are of the smallest possible size, being little better than arrow loops. The light which was admitted through the aperture was carefully economized by the increasing width of the window as it approached the inner margin of the wall. By this means the precious rays were allowed freely to expand themselves. As these holes served the purpose of arrow loops,

as well as windows, the bottom of them was generally formed into steps, and on their upper margin was not unfrequently a recess provided to protect the head of the soldier, who stood at it watching his opportunity to project the deadly bolt. In order to defend the garrison within the keep from the action of the missiles thrown through these apertures, an ingenious contrivance may often be noticed. The upper portion of the window aperture is made to curve downwards as it approaches the inner margin of the wall, or a stone curtain drops directly down. Against these projections an arrow sent from below would necessarily strike and drop harmlessly down.

As there is no access for us to the interior of the keep except by the usual stairs of entrance, we must needs adopt this course. A party coming with a hostile view would have several gates to break open, would have to overcome the thrust of the lances of the garrison from the steps above them, and slowly to run the gauntlet of showers of arrows from every loop, and stones from every battlement, while melted lead or boiling oil streamed down at intervals, insinuating itself between the folds of the armour. Not unfrequently, still further to increase the difficulty of approach, an angular turn occurs on these stairs, as at Rochester and Newcastle. At the head of the stairs of entrance, but outside the main building, an apartment is usually situated which may have been occupied by the officer to whom was intrusted the duty of seeing that only duly authorized persons were admitted within the precincts of the keep. This apartment, as not being essential to the safety of the garrison in time of a siege, enjoys the luxury of more spacious windows than the same floor of the keep does, and is generally more highly decorated than the other rooms. At Rochester the entrance into this apartment is defended by a drawbridge and a portcullis.

We are not yet arrived at the main entrance of the citadel. As in the churches of the Norman period the west doorway is usually the most highly decorated portion of the building, so in the castles of the same time the grand entrance, which is usually placed on the south side, is the member of the fortification on which the builder has chiefly displayed his artistic skill. Some of them are very beautiful. They of course exhibit the semicircular arch of

the Norman style, and the characteristic zig-zag ornament.

The windows of the building, when windows are admitted, as they usually are on the second and third stories—especially on the side least exposed to the enemy—are generally comparatively small, and nearly devoid of ornament. At Newcastle the windows of the third story are provided with double lights, and though quite plain, are nevertheless beautiful in their simplicity.

But we are still on the outside of the grand doorway. Whilst an enemy who has forced his way thus far is busily engaged in hacking to pieces with his battle-axe the iron-studded door, the garrison within are not idle. They are barricading it in the inside with every available material, so as to render, if possible, the labour of the foe nugatory. A method occasionally adopted was to choke it up with barrels of earth; on these of course the battle-axe and blazing faggot could make but little impression.

The internal arrangements of the keep may now obtain our attention.

In large buildings the interior area is divided into two or three compartments by strong stone walls, rising from the ground to the summit of the building. The White tower of London is divided into three sections, of unequal size, the partitioning wall being seven feet thick. The interior of Rochester castle is divided into two large rooms, communicating however by open arches on each floor. The object of this arrangement has been not so much its economical convenience as its military advantages. These divisions seem to have served a purpose similar to that fulfilled by the water-tight bulk-heads in our steam ships. In the event of one compartment of the castle being taken possession of by an enemy, the other might be successfully held out against them by closing the gates of communication. Holinshed furnishes us with an instance of this. "King John, in his wars with his barons, laid siege to Rochester castle with his whole army, enforcing himself by all ways possible to win the castle, as well by battering the walls with engines, as by giving thereto many assaults; but the garrison within, consisting of ninety and four knights, besides demilances and other soldiers, defended the place very manfully, in hope of rescue from the barons.

At length they within, for want of victuals, were constrained to yield it to the king after it had been besieged the space of three-score days." And true it is, there had been no siege, in those days, more earnestly enforced, nor more obstinately defended; for after that all the limbs of the castle had been reversed and thrown down, they kept the master tower, till half thereof was overthrown, and after kept the other half, till through famine they were constrained to yield, having nothing but horseflesh and water to sustain their lives withal.

From the top to the bottom of the building a newel staircase usually ran. In the lower part of the building this was the only means of communication with the several stories, for the builders have evidently contemplated the possibility of an enemy getting possession of the ground floor, and yet being kept at bay. In the upper part of the building, where the same reason could not exist, greater freedom of communication is enjoyed, and two or more staircases exist.

The structure of the newel staircase is curious; it is turned round a central pillar, and is vaulted above. The erection of this spiral vaulting must have been a work of some difficulty. The arch here, as is uniformly the case throughout the building, is composed of rough stones laid in edgewise. The mode of proceeding has evidently been to place the wooden centering in its position, and having covered it with a plentiful supply of mortar, to arrange hastily the stones in their places, putting more mortar upon them, and perhaps another arch of stones. The centering was allowed to remain until the whole was consolidated, and when it was removed, it necessarily left the impression in the mortar of the roof of the rough boards of which it was formed. This may yet be noticed in many of our Norman castles.

Another essential requisite in a Norman keep was the well. Without it no garrison could maintain a siege. In many cases the labour involved in this proceeding was very great.

At Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, the well is said to have been three hundred feet deep. At Bamborough castle the well is sunk to the depth of one hundred and forty-five feet through a whinstone rock. On lowering

a light down it, you see the sharp crystalline masses of the basalt projecting from the sides, thus evincing the extreme difficulty with which the builders had to contend.

It was not sufficient, however, that a well was provided to which access might be had in the basement story, the comfort of the garrison required that it should be easily accessible from the higher parts of the building. At Rochester the pipe of the well is continued from the ground to the highest floor of the building; an arched opening communicates with each story. A similar plan seems to have been adopted in the keep of Carlisle castle. At Newcastle a contrivance is adopted which is probably peculiar to this keep:—the well is only accessible from the third story, the pipe enclosing it being continued up to this elevation without there being any intermediate opening in its solid masonry. The builders have evidently contemplated the possibility of the lower portions of the building being in the possession of the assailants without their being obliged to surrender. This precaution, however, not only involved the labour of raising every bucket of water that was wanted for any part of the castle to this elevation, but the additional labour of carrying to the apartments below



The guard chamber at Newcastle, down the central column of which a pipe has run, to distribute the water from the well.¹

¹ The strong central pillar is hollow, and through it the water has been conveyed from the well room in the

third story. The internal cavity is nearly a foot in diameter; it has its exit by a small pipe near its base. It



what was required there. To remedy, in part, this inconvenience, pipes have been laid in the walls and pillars of the building from the well-room to the lower parts of the structure: some portions of them yet remain.

In describing the apartments of the keep, it is difficult to recognize any general principle, they vary so much according to circumstances.

In castles of a moderate size, the principal room of the lower story is vaulted, a central column supporting the radiating ribs of this arrangement. Richmond and Newcastle furnish examples of this. At the latter place, the character of the room, though dark and gloomy, has a degree of grandeur which could not be looked for in such a situation. In time of a siege, this apartment was probably the residence of the common troops of the garrison. Pent up here day and night, in considerable numbers, their situation would not be of an enviable kind.

In buildings of a medium size, the second story has probably formed the private residence of the commandant of the castle and his family. It is generally the most secure and the most comfortable part of it. At Newcastle, an assailant who forces an entrance at the grand doorway, and wishes to get to the second story, has to fight his way across the great hall; getting out at a small doorway, he has to descend the newel staircase to a point below the level of the floor he wishes to reach, and then to ascend several steps through a very narrow entrance, which introduces him, not into the body of the room, but into a window niche. A single man, with a well-tempered battle-axe in his hand, could maintain this position against a whole host of mailed warriors.

All the floors, excepting the first, are usually formed of timber. It is a common arrangement of the second story to have a couple of arches resting upon a central column, to support the superincumbent rafters. It is so at Hedingham, and probably was so at Newcastle. At Richmond, there is a central pillar only. As being a little removed

is scarcely necessary to observe that the fire-place represented in the cut, and which so sadly disfigures the room, is quite modern; and it must be remarked that the window on the south side of the room is much larger than

it anciently was; in its inner margin the wall is made to droop at the top, and forms a sort of curtain, against which arrows entering the room from without would strike; the garrison by this means being preserved harmless.

from the immediate source of danger, more light is usually admitted into the second story than the first. This, however, is done with some care. At Rochester, nothing larger than an arrow loop is allowed in the second story.

In addition to the principal apartments in the interior area of the keep, we have smaller ones situated within the thickness of the walls. The massive nature of the building admits of the formation of tolerably convenient apartments in these situations. They are uniformly vaulted in the roof. In order to prevent the strength of the wall being materially damaged by this arrangement, care is taken not to have these rooms similarly placed in consecutive stories. If the mural chamber is in the south wall on the second story, it is probably in the north wall in the third. These chambers have probably been used as the retiring rooms of the chief occupants of the fortress. At Newcastle, one of these, on the third story, is called the King's fortress; here, probably, Edward I and Edward III have repeatedly sought that repose which so often refuses to alight upon the eyelids of kings.

We occasionally meet with fireplaces on the second story. In Rochester, there is a fireplace in each of the large apartments, and one in a small guard room in the thickness of the wall. These often consist of little more than a hearth, from which a funnel-shaped channel, terminating in an opening resembling an arrow loop, takes the smoke to the outside of the building.

It is a curious circumstance that in some keeps no traces of a fire-place are to be found in any part of them. This is the case at Richmond, and, more remarkable still, in the Tower of London.

This seems to be a proof, that excepting in times of peril, or on occasions of great state and ceremony, the baronial occupant of the stronghold inhabited more comfortable lodgings than the keep afforded—probably in one of the gate towers.

But admitting this, it seems certain that the luxury of a fire was less generally enjoyed in ancient than in modern times. The hardy sea kings of Norway thought it effeminate to sleep beneath a roof; and a warrior of the middle ages considered a blazing hearth as unbefitting the profession of arms. The banqueting hall at Warkworth, as

originally constructed, had no fireplace; the one which is there now, is manifestly a more recent erection, and occupies the place of a window of similar dimensions to that which still remains.

The monks of old seem also to have accustomed themselves to a like degree of hardihood; a single fire, in the parlour or conversation room, being considered sufficient for the occasional resort of the numerous members of a convent, even in the severest weather.

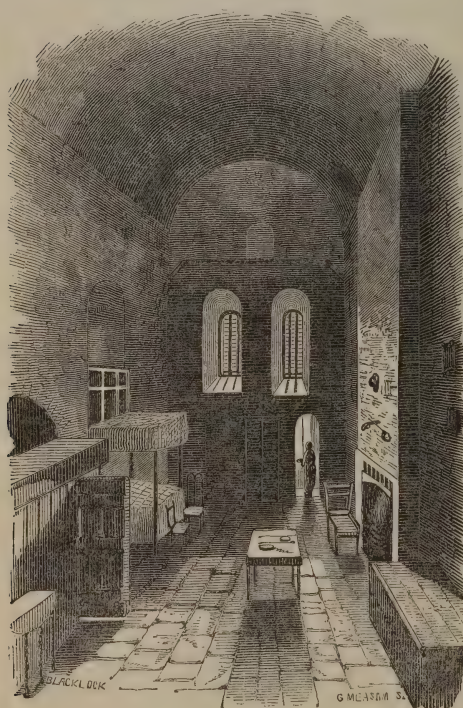
Charcoal fires might, however, be occasionally introduced, after the continental fashion, into those rooms of a castle which were unprovided with fireplaces.

In many Norman keeps, a pillar, placed in the centre of the floor of the second story, furnishes a support on which to lay the beams that bear up the floor of the room above. This has been the case at Richmond. In others, an arch spans the room, as at Hedingham. In Newcastle, the

central column and the arches springing from it are modern, but probably they have been constructed in accordance with the indications furnished by the ruin of its former state.

The grand hall, in most castles of importance, occupies the third story. As at this elevation the strength of the walls is of less importance than below, windows are more freely inserted.

At Newcastle, this room occupies the whole remaining height of the building.¹ At the south



¹ The great hall above represented is lighted by a window in the northern

side of the great hall at Newcastle is a room in the thickness of the wall, which is denominated the King's chamber; it has a handsome fireplace, and communicates with some small closets, which have been appropriated to a variety of convenient uses.

At Rochester, the height of the state apartments, which are upon the third story, is twenty-eight feet. Here the strong partition wall, which in the lower stories divides the building into two sections, is pierced by four large semi-circular arches, which open a communication between the apartments. The arches are decorated with rich zig-zag mouldings.

The grand hall at Hedingham is of interesting character. A large arch, twenty-eight feet in span, with several mouldings, extends across it from east to west. The height of the room from the floor to the centre of the arch is twenty-one feet, and to the top of the ceiling twenty-eight feet. In the walls between the upper and lower range of windows, there are evidently holes for timbers, which have induced some to suppose that this part of the castle has consisted of two floors. In this case, the beautiful effect of the arch would be utterly destroyed. Side galleries have probably extended round the interior, which on occasions of state ceremony would be crowded with spectators.

It was probably in the state room of Hedingham castle that John de Vere, earl of Oxford, gave to Henry VII that entertainment which cost him so dear. Contrary to a recent ordinance, the old earl, thinking to do honour to his master, had assembled his tenantry and decorated them with his arms and cognizances. The king, on finding that instead of menial servants he was surrounded by retainers, exclaimed: "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney must speak with you." He was fined fifteen thousand marks.

The uppermost story of the White tower, London, contained the state rooms. The largest of them is named the

wall, and by two windows of large dimensions and at a considerable height above the ground in the southern wall.

The north window is divided into two lights, and probably presents the type of all the other large windows of the castle.

Council chamber, from its having been the room in which the council used to assemble when the reigning monarch held his court at the Tower. It is a room, says Bailey, which has few rivals. The massive timber roof and supporters have every appearance of high antiquity, and harmonize well with the grand and substantial features of the other part of the building. It is said to have been here that the council was sitting in 1483, when Richard, duke of Gloucester, the protector, ordered the execution of lord Hastings, and the arrest of the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley. Poor Hastings was taken into the courtyard of the Tower, and without judgment, or long time for confession or repentance, was beheaded on a piece of timber that accidentally lay there.

Near the upper part of the keep, and within the thickness of the walls, a passage ran entirely round it. This has probably been to enable the garrison in time of a siege freely to communicate with every part. It is usually well supplied with arrow loops, which facilitated observation and permitted of the projection of missiles on the foe. This gallery has for the most part apertures looking into the great hall, so that during the progress of an attack the soldiery engaged above could readily communicate with the officers below, and receive the requisite orders.

The roof of the castle seems to have been of the kind called the ridge and valley. The parapets being much exposed to forcible removal in time of war, as well as to the action of the weather, few specimens remain to tell us of their nature. They were probably plain, though sometimes embattled. They were always flush with the walls of the keep. Projecting or machicolated parapets were the invention of a subsequent period.

On the roof of the building important operations were conducted in time of a siege. In addition to hand missiles and bolts from crossbows, ponderous masses of stone were projected against the besiegers by means of catapults and balisters, similar in their construction to those made use of by the warriors of the primeval age. The roof of Richmond castle exhibits marks where the beams had been inserted which secured these implements of war.

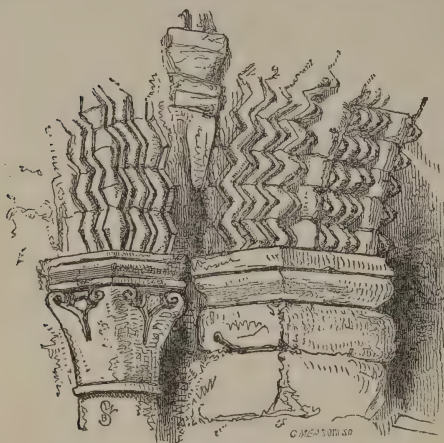
There remains but one more warlike contrivance which calls for remark. Several instances of the *sally-port* of

the keep remain. Whilst the attention of the besieging party was concentrated upon a particular point, such as the storming of the main entrance, a detachment of the beleaguered party would issue out by some unobserved doorway, and attack them from behind. It was requisite that, whilst the sally-port was so planned as readily to admit the return of the garrison party, it should as easily exclude the foe.

It is difficult to describe the contrivances which give security to the sally-port at Newcastle, the most perfect one I have seen. I will, notwithstanding, endeavour to trace a party in their movements when about to attack the assailants. Ascending a flight of steps which forms the sill of a window, they proceed from the window niche by a narrow passage, provided with a strongly barred door, into a small chamber, lighted only by a single arrow slit. Here the party might muster and form. Proceeding out of this room by a very low doorway—one so low as to require them to stoop considerably—they would have to turn at right angles into a short and very narrow passage, up several steps, to the sally-port door. This door is about thirteen feet above the ground. To get down, a ladder would be used, which the sentinel on duty would raise the moment his party had descended. On their return, it would again be lowered, to be raised as soon as they were once more in safety. The narrowness of the sally-port passage, the number of the sharp turns in it, the general darkness of it, as well as its continually varying level, would render it almost inaccessible to a foe who was not intimately acquainted with its arrangements. Supposing the external door to have been left open, a single sentinel, in the niche which is provided for him, would have no difficulty in despatching all intruders as fast as they could approach him.

It but ill accords with our usual ideas of consistency to find, that in a building so replete with contrivances adapted for the security of the garrison and the slaughter of the foe, provision is uniformly made for having the services of religion conducted. In addition to the chapel in the outer bailey, we generally find one in the keep itself. At Newcastle, it is under the stairs of entrance; and is a building of singular beauty when the unadorned character of the

rest of the structure is taken into account. Usually the chapel is in the keep itself, and on the second or third story. The chapel at Colchester is a spacious apartment, grand in its massiveness and simplicity.



Mouldings of the chapel at Newcastle.

The chapel of the White tower is one of the most interesting portions of that noble structure. It also is without ornament; but its columns and its aisles and arches,

while they are characteristic of the sternness of the Norman warrior's mind, shew that he had an imagination susceptible of impression. In this spot some of our mightiest monarchs have bowed the knee.

It is a matter of public regret that the Tower of London is not accessible to the people of England. We pay our sixpence, and are shewn, as we fancy, through the Tower. With the exception of a few feet of surface, displaying some scratches on the wall of the room in which sir Walter Raleigh is said to have been confined, we see absolutely nothing of the interior of the Norman part of the building.

The lower parts of it are used for ordnance stores. Those most interesting chambers, the council chamber and the chapel, so beautiful in themselves, and so full of historic interest, are made use of as lumber rooms for stowing away old chancery records and log books of ships of war. For this purpose they are divided into stalls, and thoroughly crammed with their uninteresting contents. For the greater economy of space, the chapel is supplied with a second floor, midway up its spacious height. Every attempt that you make, by peering between the piles of books and papers, to get a glimpse of the structure, is attended only with chagrin and disappointment; I speak of that which I have experienced.

Is this right? Might not the old chancery papers and the log books be kept elsewhere, if they are worthy of being kept at all, and those who feel an interest in their country's story be permitted to traverse these stately apartments, and in imagination to evoke from these walls the narrative of the stirring scenes and the thrilling events of which they have been witnesses? Would not our government do well if they opened all the apartments of the White tower, as well as of the interesting mural towers of the Edwardian period which surround it, and by so doing, cultivate among the people a love for the study of history? With exceeding good effect, one at least of our local Norman strongholds has been laid open to the investigation of those curious in antiquities; and were the matter pressed upon the attention of government, the object to which I refer might be accomplished.

There is one adjunct of a castle that we do not usually find in the Norman keep—the underground dungeon. I refer to those pits—those dreadful sinks which entirely exclude light, and let in just air enough to sustain existence, which you find in many castles of the Edwardian era—dungeons into which the ill-fated prisoner was lowered from a trap in the floor above, and then allowed to groan out his existence amidst increasing foulness, until he was again dragged up to day, or death released him. These underground dungeons are not generally found in the Norman keep. At Rochester, there is a small room below the basement story, which may have been used as a prison; at Colchester, there are extensive underground vaults, but they are too spacious to have been used for such a purpose; at London and elsewhere, there are small dark rooms on the basement floor, but not underground dungeons. At Kenilworth, considerable excavations were made in the expectation of striking upon a vaulted prison below the surface, but none was found. I have bored in several places the floor of the basement story of the castle of Newcastle, in hopes of making some discovery of this kind, but all to no purpose.

I have at length come to the conclusion that underground dungeons were the invention of a subsequent period—the Edwardian; and, strange as the assertion may appear, that they were proofs of advancing civilization.

In the fearful struggle between Saxon and Norman, that followed the advent of William to our shores, human life was esteemed a thing of nought. No Norman was safe outside the walls of his keep except he were accompanied by a strong guard; and when policy dictated, the Normans did not hesitate to exterminate every living thing, and to subvert every habitation in extensive districts. Dungeons were of little use to the Normans. If they caught a foe that was worthy of their attention, they gave him six feet of earth, or if he were a tall man—seven.

I have now enumerated the principal features of a Norman fortress.

If I have at all succeeded in my object, I have shewn you that they are interesting historical documents, which tell us more powerfully of the state of society than words can do. As such they are worthy of preservation, as much so as the precious manuscript or the unique volume.

They are landmarks in the tide of time. They are memorials of the past, which call upon us to be grateful for present mercies. How miserable the condition of these Norman nobles! Look at the gloomy pile, and say if it is not a prison—a prison into which we would now shudder to put a felon. Yet these prisons—these above-ground pits—the Norman nobles built for themselves; they voluntarily incarcerated themselves, and unlike modern criminals, they used their best endeavours to keep their prison doors fast, and to resist the efforts of those without to throw them open. How piteous their lot when compared with the cottager of England at the present day!—*he* is free to go where he likes, and when he likes; and should the hand of violence uplift his latch, or affect his person, the might of Britain is put forth to protect him.

Long may we enjoy our present comforts—let these enjoyments go on in an increasing ratio: but to understand and appreciate them, let us preserve and study our Norman castle.

ON ROMAN RIBCHESTER.

BY JOHN JUST, ESQ., AND JOHN HARLAND, ESQ.

THE name of Ribchester, the nature of the place, and the numerous Roman relics, which from time to time have been discovered there, plainly indicate that the Romans, during the days of their dominion in the land, have inhabited the spot. Two Roman military roads intersecting each other at or in close proximity to the place, confirm such indications, and denote that Ribchester was a Roman station. The names of most such so situated have been given in the Itinerary or Way Book of Antoninus; in the parallel work of Richard of Cirencester, either taken from more authentic manuscripts than we possess, or from the same or similar authority, in the Notitia, and in Ptolemy, the Chorography of Ravenna, etc., etc. One line of the Roman military roads runs from the north to the southward, and has Mancunium, or Manchester, on it, as the next station to the south. Mancunium occurs but in two Itinera of Antoninus the Second and the Tenth. In the second, the next station to the northward therein mentioned is Cambodunum, on the road thence through York to the Roman Vallum or the Picts Wall. Of course, as the line near Ribchester takes not this direction, it cannot be the site of Cambodunum. The tenth iter, which passes from the north through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the whole length of Lancashire, and is identical with the line now under consideration, gives Coccium as the name of the station nearest to Manchester. As there are no remains of a station on the line of Antonine's Tenth iter from Ribchester to Manchester, and as the remains of the Roman military road are easily traceable throughout the whole space between these two places, Ribchester can be the site of no other Roman station than the Coccium of Antoninus. Richard's parallel iter, though defective in the names of the stations northward, gives Coccium also as the name of the station next to Manchester northward in that direction.

These remarks might have been of no moment, if numbers of previous writers on this subject had agreed about the Roman name of the station at Ribchester. But as now

the whole length of the military road on which Coccium stands has been accurately and minutely traced out, and as no other Roman military road is traceable in any direction from Manchester to the northward, the proof is indubitable. The authority is on the ground, marked out in lines which now cannot perish, and henceforth we must be satisfied with the evidence as it exists, though the distances may not accord with such as are given in the Itineraries.

Another line of Roman military road has been mentioned as intersecting this. No account of such a line exists in Antoninus. Richard, however, gives us an account of it in his seventh iter. This line begins at the Portus Sistuntiorum, and runs eastward to York. A Roman military road commences near Poulton in the Folde, and has been traced out in its remains to Ribchester, and thence eastward throughout Lancashire, furnishing as evident and satisfactory remains as any line of road within the kingdom. This is a fact of considerable importance. It serves to corroborate Richard's testimony, and to shew, that he has had access to genuine documents where he deviates from Antoninus. It also accounts for the difference in the name he gives to the station at Ribchester as taken from different sources. In his seventh iter, he gives Rerigionium as the name of the first station on the line after the Portus Sistuntiorum. And this can be no other place than Ribchester. Besides, some value is to be attached to his authority here, as the line of his iter fixes upon the estuary of the Wyre as the site of the "Portus Sistuntiorum", contrary to the conjectures of others, who imagine it to have been on the Ribble.

Testimony from authorities is in favour of Coccium being the Roman name of the station at Ribchester. Our next inquiry seems to be what kind of station it was, when the conquering legions of Rome passed through, wintered there, or exercised themselves as garrisons within its walls.

Granting the same authority to Richard of Cirencester in his description of Roman Britain, as actual remains shew that he possessed respecting the lines of the Roman roads, we find Coccium included in the country of the Voluntii and Sistuntii, two confederate tribes of people within the nation of the Brigantes. Rerigionium, perchance for the

reason assigned already, is kept distinct. The same author also includes Coccium among the thirty-three more celebrated and conspicuous cities of the Britons, and inserts it among the ten cities under the Latian law during the times of the Romans. It does not occur in Nennius' list. It would hence appear that Coccium was an important station during Roman sway, possessing privileges, and enjoying certain laws unknown to the other stations on the same line of military road. If so, it should shew a greater extent of area, and richer and more numerous remains, than any other station included in the tenth iter of Antoninus.

According to the admeasurement of the Ordnance Survey, the rectangle marked out by the agger where stood the ramparts of the station, included about ten statute acres. This area is larger than that of Mancunium, or Manchester, to the southward, or than those of Brementonacæ, Golacum, etc. to the northward. So far area is in proof of the accuracy of the site. And as to remains—pillars and shafts of columns belonging to a Roman temple, baths, a helmet, coins, altars, and other stones, with inscriptions, to be hereafter enumerated, will shew that in comparison with such remains hitherto discovered on the other stations of the line, it stands as preeminent as the descriptions of it left to us could lead us to expect from it; and altogether proves itself, spite of all previous disputations, to be the Coccium of Antoninus and of Richard.

The first modern notice of this ancient Roman station, truly described by Whitaker as a "celebrated and yet unexhausted mine of Roman antiquities",¹ is by Leland, who visited Ribchester within the years 1544-1550, and who says: "Ribchestre is now a poore thing; it hath beene an auncient towne. Great squarid stones, voutes, and antique coynes be founde ther; and ther is a place wher the people fable that the Jues had a temple."² But in these popular traditions the Jews and Romans were often confounded; the Roman wall at Leicester is called "the Jewry wall". The next account we have of Ribchester is by the most learned and observant Camden, who visited it twice; the first time in 1582. He says:—

¹ "Richmondshire", vol. II, page 458.

² "Leland's Itinerary", vol. IV, part I, fol. 39.

"Here the Ribell, presently turning west, gives its name to a village called at present *Riblechester*, where so many remains of Roman antiquities, statues, coins, columns, capitals, bases of columns, altars, marbles, and inscriptions, are continually dug up, that the inhabitants seem not much mistaken in their lame rhyming proverb:—

"It is written upon a wall in Rome,
Ribchester was as rich as any town in Christendom.¹

"The inscriptions have been so abused by the country people, that though I met with several, I could scarce read above one or two. At Salesbury Hall, in the neighbourhood, the seat of the noble and ancient family of the Talbots, I saw this on the pedestal of a pillar. (I.) DEO MARTI, ET VICTORIÆ DD. AVGG. ET CC. NN.² [Horsley says this was removed to Salesbury Hall, but the inscription was effaced when he saw it.] In the adjoining wall is another stone, with Cupid and another small figure on it. From the back of it was copied for me the following unintelligible inscription."

This having been erroneously copied for Camden, we pass over his print of it, and come to Whitaker's rediscovery of it. He says:—³

"The removal of a very fine sculptured stone from Salesbury Hall, in 1815, led to a discovery. Camden had loosely mentioned a stone existing there, with a Cupid and another little image," etc. I had long suspected that if ever the stone containing the sculpture of Apollo, which stood as a corner stone at Salesbury, were removed, one of the two concealed sides would exhibit Camden's inscription; and when, by the favour of lord Bulkeley, the stone had been detached from the situation it had occupied during two centuries, I beheld the original, which had been so strangely misrepresented. The connexion between the sculpture and the inscription now became obvious. On the front side is a basso-relievo of Apollo *reposing upon* his lyre, better designed than any work of a Romano-British artist I have ever seen. On a second are the figures of two priests in long robes, holding the head of some horned animal between them; on the third is the inscription; the fourth is rough, had been originally attached to a wall. It now turns out to be a dedication to Apollo Aponus, or the indolent Apollo (or, as it may be read, Apollo the Healer), the god of medicine, who restores health by relaxation or repose, on behalf of an emperor who unfortunately is not mentioned. This accounts for the reposing attitude of the principal figure."

After referring to some warm springs near Padua, long frequented by the Romans, under the name of Fontes

¹ "Britannia", vol. III, p. 129. Ed. by Gough. Lond. 1789, fol.

² Ibid. p. 130.

³ "Richmondshire, II, 461.

Aponi, and still retaining the name of Poni, which he supposes to be the waters from which a cure was in this case supplicated, Whitaker reads the inscription thus :—

(II.) DEO SANCTO APOLLONI APOÑO OB SALVTEM DN AL. Q. Q. SARM. BRENETEN. SVB DIANIO ANTONINO D. LEG. VI VIC. DOMV ELIBER. Deo sancto Apollini Apono ob salutem Domini nostri Ala Equitum Sarmatarum Breneten. Sub Dianio Antonino centurione legione sextæ victricis.

Camden says :—

“ When I was here again in 1603, I met with the largest and finest altar I ever saw, with this inscription, in the house of Thomas Rhodes :—(III) DEIS MATRIBVS M. INGENVI VS ASIATICVS DEC. AL. AST. SS.LL. M. Horsley¹



reads this, ‘ Deis Matribus Marcus Ingenuinus, Asiaticus, Decurio alæ Astorum, susceptum solvit libentissime merito.’ He says he believes this was removed to Salesbury Hall, but the inscription in his time was effaced.”

¹ “ Britannia Romana”, p. 303.



It was subsequently taken from Salesbury Hall to Dinckley Hall, and the rev. Mr. Allen acquaints me that it was removed thence to Stonyhurst College in 1822. Camden continues :—

“ I likewise saw a little altar there, turned out among rubbish, with this inscription :—(IV.) PACIFERO MARTI ¹ELEGAVRBA POSVIT EX VOTO.

“ This was so small that it seemed to have been some poor man's portable altar, and used only for incense or salt flower cakes, whereas the other was much larger, and fit for offering the greater sacrifices of animals.”

Horsley observes as to this, that “ Mars Pacifer” is met with in several coins of the lower emperors. He reads it, “ Pacifero Marti Elegans Aurelius Bassus posuit ex voto”. All three names are found in *Gruter*.² To return to Camden, he says :—

“ Here also was lately dug up a stone, on which was carved a naked figure on horseback, without saddle or bridle, brandishing a spear in both hands, and insulting over a naked man on the ground holding in his hand something square. Between the horse and the prostrate figure are D. M. ; under the figure GAL. SARMATA. The rest of the many letters are so decayed as not to be read, nor can I form any conjecture about them.”³

Horsley suggests the reading :—“ Dis Manibus Eques [Q. AL.] Alæ Sarmatarum”.

“ It seems by the foregoing inscription, and the following, found hereabouts many years ago, that the Ala Sarmatarum was stationed here. [The following is from Lambarde's papers] : (v.)

“ HIS TERRIS TEGITVR AEL MATRONA QV. . . VIX. AN. XXVIII. M. II.D. VIII. ET M. IVLIVS MAXIMVS FIL. VIX. AN VI. M. III. D. XX. ET CAMPANIA DVBBA MATER V X. AN. L. IVLIVS MAXIMVS. . . ALÆ. SAR. CONIVX CONIVGI INCOMPARABILI ET FILIO. PATRI PIENTISSIMO ET SOCERAE TENACISSIMÆ MEMORIAE P.”

Horsley observes, as to this inscription, that the words “ ‘ His terris tegitur’ stand here in the room of Dis Manibus. ‘ Mater’ must here mean the wife's mother, who is afterwards called Socera, instead of the real name ‘ Socrus’. ‘ Patri pientissimo’ for ‘ in patrem’; ‘ very dutiful to his father’, is perhaps as uncommon. Nor is ‘ tenacissimæ memoriae’, ‘ of very dear memory’, less remarkable in this passive sense.”

Dr. Charles Leigh, author of a “ Natural History of

¹ D LEG AVR. See Gruter and Reinesii Ind. Gale, MS. n.

² “ Brit. Rom.” p. 303.

³ Ib. p. 130.

Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, with an account of the Antiquities in those parts", who visited Ribchester in 1699, describes what he saw there in his third book, p. 6, *et seq.* Leigh is of little authority, but he supplies a few facts. He says:—

"The first remarkable piece of antiquity I took notice of was a fortification called 'Anchor Hill,' because anchors have sometimes been found there under ground, with rings and nails of small vessels, Roman *pateræ*, of a metal like that of our china teapots, with the effigies of wolves and flowers upon them; and at the bottom of some, these letters, 'Fab. Pro.' which, doubtless, must be in the time when one of the Fabii was proconsul or procurator.² From Anchor Hill there goes a way to Preston and a road to Lancaster, where there was another fortification and a Roman wall; another road likewise directs to Mancunium. Not far from Anchor Hill I saw a common sewer, and a floor composed of Roman tiles, which demonstrates the river there was never navigable; for had it been so, the city and the country called the Fylde, must unavoidably have been under water. Near this sewer I saw a pillar, about seventeen inches diameter, with letters upon it, but in a great measure erased, and not at all legible. The Roman coins I met with there, which are discovered as the hill shelves into the river, were one of them Augustus Cæsar's; the rest Titus, Vespasian, Diocletian, Coccius Nerva, Domitian, Trajan, Adrian, Severus, Commodus, Marcus Antoninus, and Julia; some in copper, and some a mixed metal, in which last the letters are very legible; likewise one Saxon silver coin; amongst these was likewise found a ruby, with Mars on the reverse,—the genius of the place, as appears by a Roman altar dug up there, which is now removed to Dinckley, a seat not far from thence. On this altar these words are inscribed:—DEO MARTI ET VICTORIÆ.

"There is another Roman altar, but on that the letters are erased, and are not legible. I saw likewise two coins found at the same place, with crosses on the reverse, and the head of an emperor, but the letters too obscure to be read. At the same place are frequently found several pieces of Roman urns and flower pots, all which considered fully demonstrate the great antiquity of the place. Its greatness may appear further from the finger of a copper statue, found amongst the ruins. These following pieces of antiquity were communicated to me by Mr. Oddy, schoolmaster at Blackburn, and the rev. George Ogden, fellow of the collegiate church of Manchester, and present vicar of Ribchester. Besides the

¹ Whitaker says: "All the nautical remains discovered about Anchor Hill prove nothing more than the existence of a ferry."

² This is a fair specimen of Leigh's blunders. The words abbreviated are a well known potter's mark. "Fabrica Probi", the workshop of Probus.

engraven altars here mentioned, I saw another when I was last over there, with this inscription:—(VI.) DEO MARTI ET VICTORIÆ DEC. ASIATIC. AL. SARMAT. SS LL. M. I. T. CC. NN.

“This seems to be an altar dedicated to Mars and Victory, by one of the decurions, by birth an Asiatic, commanding in a wing of the Sarmatæ; and the six last letters may be ‘Imperatorī Triumphanti Cæsari Coccio Nervæ’ (to the triumphant Emperor Coccius Nerva).”

Whitaker corrects this blundering. It is “Imperatorī et Cæsaribus nostris.”¹

“There was one very eminent piece of antiquity dug up at Ribchester, viz., a large stone, now a corner stone in Salisbury Hall, which anciently belonged to the Talbots. On one side is Apollo with his quiver on his shoulder, leaning on his *plectrum* or harp, with a loose mantle or *velamen*; and on the other side two of his priests in the same habit, with an ox’s head in their hands, sacrificing to him likewise, the heads of various animals lying prostrate at his feet. That this altar was erected here in Dioclesian’s time is probable from the great number of his coins found here.”² [In his plates, Leigh figures a number of Ribchester and Lancaster coins, without distinguishing where each was found.]

Dr. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, after a personal survey of Ribchester, made with Roger Gale in 1725, says:—

“The river Ribble is very broad at this place, rapid and sonorous, running over the pebbles, and, what is much to be lamented, over innumerable Roman antiquities; for in this long tract of time, it has eaten away a third part of the city. I traced out the old ground plot, and where the wall and ditch went round it, it lay in length east and west along the north side of the river upon its brink eight hundred feet long and five hundred broad” (forming an area of from nine to ten acres for the city within its walls). “Originally I apprehend two streets ran along its length, and three crossed them on its breadth. By symmetry I find the whole channel of the river, at present, lies within the precinct of the old city, the original channel on the other side being filled up with the city walls and rubbish, for it bends with a great elbow towards the city. The eastern limit of the city, or that upward of the river, lies against a brook, there falling in; and the two streams playing against that angle, have carried it away, and still threaten them. At the western end of the city, or down the stream, a whole road, and some houses too, by a barn, are absorbed, and great quantity of ashler, the remains of the wall, has been carried off for building. Much remains in the ground, and on the edge of the stream. Farther up the land and all along the west side of the church wall, the ditch is perfect, and the

¹ “Hist. of Whalley”, p. 21, note.

² “Nat. Hist.” p. 10, book 3.

rampire where the wall stood pretty high, and the foundation of the wall a little apparent. They tell me the ashler stone still lies its whole length. They call this Anchor Hill, and when digging by the house that stands upon part of it, they found anchors and great quantities of iron pins, of all sizes, for ships or barges. The north-west angle of the city is manifest, and where the northern wall turned round the north side of the church. A little way down a lane at that angle, a great bank runs westward, made of stone, like a Roman road. There is a lane goes down north of the city to the brook, called 'the Strand'. At the end of this lane is a street, which is the Roman road running directly northward up the fell called Green Gate. It passes over Langridge, so through Bowland forest: it appears green to the eye. The eastern wall over the brook stood likewise on a sort of precipice. Just under the Red Lion a subterraneous canal [sewer] comes into the river, so high that one may walk upright in it, paved at the bottom.¹ The stream here is frequently very impetuous, and two or three bridges have in modern times been swept away by floods. At the door of the Red Lion, I saw the base of a pillar and a most noble shaft, seven feet long, handsomely turned, which was fished out of the river. It was doubtless Roman originally, though the base has, I guess, been used as the stump of a later cross. There is a *Scotia* and two *toruses* [small cylinders, annexed to a large middle one, in the shaft] at the bottom, though not very elegantly formed. The whole is two feet and a half high, and twenty-two inches diameter, seventeen inches diameter at one top. The *frustum* of the column lay in the alehouse yard, where the weather and other accidents have obliterated an inscription of three or four lines towards the top.

"One corner of this house has a Roman partition wall, built of pebbles and hard mortar as usual. This house now [1725] is by the brink of the river, leaving only a scanty road between; but within memory a great many houses opposite (and among them the chief inn of the town) were washed away. Farther on down the river, a great part of an orchard fell down last year (*i. e.* 1724). Viewing the breach of the bank exposed thereby, I saw the joists and boards of a floor of oak, four feet under the present surface, with many bits of Roman bricks, potsherds, etc., and such floors are to be seen along the whole bank; whence most antiquities are found in the river.

"The late minister of Ribchester, the rev. Mr. Ogden, collected all the coins, intaglios, and other antiquities, found here in great quantities; but his widow, as far as I can learn, disposed of them to Mr. Prescott of Chester. I was shown the top of a great two-handled amphora or wine jar [now in the possession of the rev. S. J. Allen], of whitish clay, taken out of the river. I saw another like fragment. I saw a large coin of

¹ "Iter Boreale", p. 37.

Domitian, of yellow brass, very fair, found in the river:—*obv.* ‘IMP. CÆS: DOMIT: AUG: GERM: COS. XVI. CENS. PER. PP.’ *Rev.* Jupiter sitting in a curule chair, the hasta pura in his left, an eagle on his right hand, ‘JOVI VICTORI’. *Exergue*: sc. Another pedestal of a pillar found in the river. Many urns have been found hereabouts; but they are all lost and disregarded since Mr. Ogden died, who collected such things. They know the track of the Roman road all the way over the hills. In a garden by the Unicorn’s head, a gold finger was found, and another brass finger as large as a man’s. Two intaglios of Mercury with wings on his feet, the Caduceus, etc., were found near Anchor Hill. Much ashes and bones were found about the city. Digging in the churchyard, silver coins have been often turned up. Half of one longitudinal street, and two latitudinals, have been consumed.

“All the inscriptions (says Stukeley) have been carried away from Salesbury. I found a large stone in a corner of the house, which has been a Roman monumental stone, foolishly placed there for the sake of the carving. [This is the Apollo Aponus, elsewhere noticed.] At Dinkley I saw two altars [probably those described by Leigh], the inscriptions of both obliterated, but well cut. One stood in a grass-plot in the garden, covered over with moss and weeds, and was used in the house as a cheese-press. The late Mr. Warren was careful of these relics.”¹

It seems that in Stukeley’s time, the Warrens had three seats, Salesbury, Dinkley, and a house near Stockport, to which last, the antiquary supposes the other Ribchester relics in their possession had been removed.

Horsley figures two of the Ribchester inscriptions. The first² is as follows:—

“IMP. CA. IMP. CA. VEX EG. SVB. SEX. (VII).”

Which fragment he reads thus:—

“Imperatori Cæsari. Imperatori Cæsari. Vexillatio legionis. Sub sextio.”

He says:³—

“This is yet in the town, lying at the door of a dwelling-house. It has probably been an honorary monument to Severus and Caracalla, for the other inscriptions to these emperors begin much after the same manner. It has been erected by a vexillation of one of the legions, but which of them is not so certain. The place lies most in the way of the twentieth legion, quartered at Chester. The L and E are expressed by one character.” [Vexillatio sometimes signifies an ala or horse; at others, it relates to a single legion, as “Vex. legionis, xx. v. v.”]

The other fragmentary inscription figured by Horsley is the following:⁴—(VIII.)

¹ Page 38.

² Page 192, N. 61, fig. 2.

³ Ib. p. 302.

⁴ Ib fig. 3.

"IMP. CAES. MA . . . CO. PMVTI OM L CIG P . . . SEIFE." Imperatori Cæsari. Marco Aurelio. Consuli, pontifici maximo, Tribunitia Potestate.

He says,¹ "The form of this looks somewhat like a milliard pillar. It was lying in a garden at the west end of the town and near the river. So much of the inscription is quite effaced as makes it hard to guess at the meaning of the whole. I think by the letters MA in the second line, it may have been erected to one of the Antonines, either Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, or Caracalla. What follows seems to express usual titles, 'Consul, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate', etc. The letters at the bottom are so confused, I could make nothing out of them. This inscription, I believe, has not been published before."

Dr. T. Whitaker, in his "History of Whalley", after describing Ribchester, (pp. 16 *et seq.* of first edition), refers to the inscriptions given in Camden, reading the first as does that antiquary; and as to the two Augusti and two Cæsars at the same time suggests that they correspond with Dioclesian and Maximian, *augg.*, and Constantine and Galerius, *cæss.* He states, that the Asti or Astæ were a people of Thrace; and on the authority of Vossius (de Anal. 2, 4), he adds, that Deis instead of Deabus, is held to be pure Latin, where there is another word expressive of the sex. The next inscription copied by Camden, (No. iv), Whitaker reads like him, except that the first line he makes PACIFIE; and adds, that the word *Elegaurba* is very ingeniously read by Professor Ward, *apud Horsley*, p. 303, "*Elegans Aurelius Bassus.*" Whitaker next copies the last of Camden's inscriptions, which he says that antiquary transcribed out of the papers of Lambarde, who had most probably recorded it for his friend Lawrence Nowell. Whitaker remarks on its very peculiar style, which he says, has been justly conjectured by Ward to belong to a very low period in the empire. The words "mater" and "socera" he says, intimate the same person in two relations. "Pientissimo patri", for "in patrem" or "erga patrem" is very barbarous; and "tenacissimæ memoriæ in a passive sense, is altogether unauthorized. But the style of this inscription is not only late, but deformed by provincial barbarism."²

As to the inscription first copied by Leigh, (No. III),

¹ Ib. p. 302.

² "Hist. of Whalley", p. 21.

the last line is conjectured by Horsley to have been compounded of the last lines of two already given, viz., SS. LL. M, (susceptum solvit, libentissime merito), of one found by Camden in 1603, and an ET CC. NN. (et Cæsarum nostrorum, No. VI), of one of the three seen by him in his first visit to Ribchester.

As to the imperfect votive stone (No. VII), Whitaker mentions that in his time it was remaining (though the letters were more than half effaced) in a garden wall within the village. He adds, that it was impossible to discover to what two emperors it was inscribed; the form of the letters seemed to him to point at Severus and Caracalla.

As to the inscription LEG XXVV FECIT (Legio xx Valerian victricis fecit, No. IX), Whitaker says it has been the corner stone of a building, and was in his time remaining in an outhouse near the church. It has two sides exposed, and on the second is a rude figure of a boar, the well-known cognizance of the twentieth legion, who, though usually stationed at Chester, might be quartered here at intervals. The rev. Mr. Allen believes this stone still to be in the possession of T. D. Whitaker, Esq., of the Holme. Whitaker first published this inscription, which is figured in his *Richmondshire*, II, 462. He mentions that a Roman cyathus or diota, found at Ribchester, was then in the possession of Dr. St. Clare of Preston. He adds:—

“ Besides inscriptions, the smaller antiquities discovered here are innumerable; the coins, of which many are found of the large brass, are generally so much corroded as to be scarcely legible. Denarii of the upper empire are not uncommon. A very pretty intaglio in a ruby, is engraved by Leigh; and I have a gold ring, found here some years since, set with a cornelian of many faces, with a dove in the centre, and round it the words, ‘Ave mea vita’; the present, as it should seem, of a lover to his mistress. Tradition also records a singular discovery at Ribchester, viz., the skull of an ox, covered with some remains of leather, and studded with gold. It is very possible that such a preparation might have been used for some sacrificial purpose, and it was an idea not likely to occur to an inventor.”

Whitaker also describes¹ a rude figure of Hercules, wrought into the wall of Osbaldeston Hall, nearly opposite to Ribchester. This, according to Mr. Allen, was removed

¹ “Hist of Whalley”, p. 541, 3rd edit.

to the Old Hall, Tabley, Cheshire, and he pronounces it a Mars with his spear, not a Hercules with his club.

One unquestionably of the most important discoveries of Roman antiquities at Ribchester occurred in 1796, the particulars of which were detailed in 1798, by Charles Townley, esq., in the *Vetusta Monumenta*,¹ published by the Society of Antiquaries. The remains were chiefly of bronze, and found in a hollow that had been made in some waste land near to the church, and to the bend of the river. The principal article was a helmet, of beautiful workmanship,² and along with it, in a heap of red sand, were various other remains. It would seem that these antiquities had been placed in this situation for the purpose of concealment and protection at some former period, but the hand of time had now occasioned much corrosion by damp. They were accidentally discovered, and sold to Mr. Townley. The helmet is now in the British Museum. It has been figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and subsequently in Whitaker's *History of Whalley* and Baines' *Lancashire*. It is therefore unnecessary, in this place, to give any description of it, beyond that it consisted of two pieces, one of which is the skull part, ornamented with figures of eleven combatants on foot, and six on horseback; the other part is the mask or vizor to cover the face, which has very effeminate features, and joins exactly to the skull part, to which it is fastened by rings and studs, some of which still remained. It is questionable whether the helmet was ever destined for real combat, or only for the enrichment of occasional trophies, which were enacted in the celebration of military festivals, or carried in procession amongst the Greeks and Romans. The helmet appears to be too slight for defence, and would not admit of air sufficient to enable its wearer to sustain any considerable exertion. The mask is of very superior workmanship to that of the head-piece, and of an earlier period. The crest of the helmet is conjectured to have been a sphynx, but was unfortunately lost. The different articles which were found along with it, consisted of pateræ of various dimensions, the remains of vases, basons, a bust of Minerva three inches in diameter, with the remains of nails and cramps by which it was fastened to a circular

¹ Vol. iv, pp. 1-12.

² The original drawings of this antiquity were exhibited in the museum at the Congress.

disk; four circular plates with mouldings; three circular plates of smaller size, furnished with a hinge; remains of a tongue, etc., by which they would appear to have been fibulæ; a colum or a colander; a circular bason of earthenware, furnished with a spout, and having on it inscribed BORIEDCF, (*Boriedi officina*), doubtless the name of the maker; two portions apparently of a candelabrum; a circular plate with hinges for four buckles, enriched with carved work and gilt; a piece of wood ten inches in length; the tusk of a boar; a piece of leather, etc.

We now come to the remains discovered in the present century:—

“In 1811”, says Baines in his *History of Lancashire*, (vol. iii, p. 379), “some workmen employed to stop the encroachments of the Ribble, nearly opposite to the church, found, at the depth of about a yard beneath the surface, the foundation of two parallel walls, lying nearly north and south, at the distance of about twenty-four yards from each other, and very strongly cemented. Among the rubbish were five human skulls, and a corresponding quantity of other bones. Within the wall was a flagged floor, and near the south end the remains of a large flat stone, which the workmen inadvertently broke, but when the fragments were united it was found to bear an inscription, which Dr. Whitaker, after much learned investigation, reads thus, (x):—

“DEAE MINERVAE PRO SALVTE IMP ALEXANDRI AVG ET IVLI MAMMEA
MATRIS DNET CASTR SVOR ET VAL CRESCENTIS FVLVIANI LEG EIVS PP PR PR T
FLORIDVS NATALIS LEG PRAEP N̄ ET REGINAE TEMPLVM A SOLO EX RESPONSV
RESTITVIT ET DEDICAVIT.”

“Deæ Minervæ—Pro salute Imperatoris Alexandri Augusti, et Juliæ Mammeæ, matris Domini nostri, et Castrorum suorum, et Valerii Crescentis Fulviani Legati, Provinciæ Præsidis, Proprætores, Titus Floridus Natalis Legatus, Præpotenti numini et Reginæ templum a solo restituit et dedicavit.”

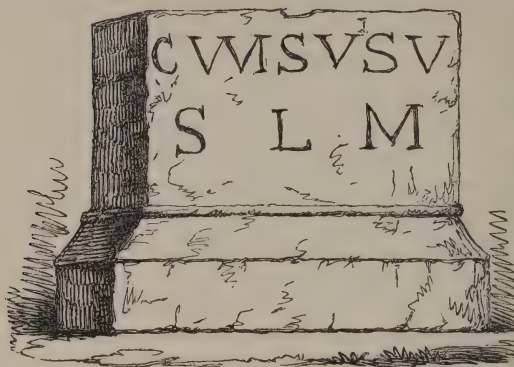
“On the whole”, says Whitaker, “this inscription is extremely valuable, as it adds one if not two names (for Natalis was probably the successor of Fulvianus in the province) to the catalogue of imperial legates in Britain.

“The inscribed flagstone, found in 1811, having sufficiently proved the existence of a temple, of which the inscription (says Whitaker) must have formed the tympanum, further search was determined upon, and in the summer of 1813, leave having been obtained to dig in the adjoining gardens, between the river and the churchyard, the first appearances, at the depth of about three feet, were a stratum of charcoal, evidently formed by the conflagration of the roof, and nearly in the centre a cavity in the earth had

been made, by the uniting of the ends of the beams at their fall, large enough to contain a man sitting. Beneath this was a confused mass of large amphoræ, some almost entire at first, and many beautiful remnants of pateræ in the red Samian ware, mingled with which lay several human skeletons, all of the largest size, in every direction. [Of the red Samian ware, the Rev. S. J. Allen, formerly of Salesbury but now of Easingwold, possesses a few fragments. One has the potter's mark MXIMI. Two are of white earth, bearing the words, --- BINVS and VAL IX on their curved edges.] Every appearance about the place indicated that it had been taken by storm, and that the defenders had been buried in the ruins of the roof; but the absence of tiles or slates seemed to prove that the outer covering of the building had been previously stripped by the assailants. Here too was found a very curious Roman statera or steelyard, very exactly graduated, and a singular bodkin of polished stone. The progress of discovery was once more suspended, till the sexton, digging a grave where no interment had taken place before, on the left hand of the entrance of the churchyard, found the base of a column and an *anta*, or square moulded corner of the *naos* itself, upright, and in their original situations. Measurements were now accurately made from the place where the inscription was found, (which must have been the front of the building) to the base of the column. This gave the entire length, except one intercolumniation, for the whole had evidently had a peristyle. The distance of the *anta* from the column by rules of architecture, gave the distance also between column and column; by which data, with the help of a very conspicuous line of mortar, about forty-five feet westward in the churchyard, the site of the west wall was ascertained, a ground-plan of the building was laid down, after which, by known proportions of Doric architecture, a complete elevation was obtained; [Baines says this investigation showed that the temple had been of an oblong shape, with sixteen columns in front, and that it was one hundred and twelve feet in length]; but every appearance about this work indicated at once provincial barbarism, and a declining age in art; for the column was ill-wrought, and the different diameters so varied from each other, as to shew that it had never been struck from a centre. Let all these circumstances be laid together, and it will scarcely be doubted that this was a temple of Minerva, restored by command of Caracalla; that the helmeted head of brass was that of the goddess; that the temple had been stormed and burned in some irruption of the Caledonians, during the last period of the Roman power in Britain; and that the precious object of worship itself had been carefully deposited in the earth, on the approach of the threatened danger.

“ Within a few yards of the east wall of the temple was disclosed the statue of a lion, of tolerable workmanship, which, from the roughness of one side, must have been an architectural ornament.”

In August 1818, Dr. Whitaker, while examining the contents of a



dilapidated chimney, immediately adjoining to the west side of the peristyle, discovered the lower half of an altar, on which, unfortunately, nothing remained but the letters, (No. XI), CVM SVIS V S L M.

"Cum suis votum solvit libens merito."

"On the 28th Feb.

1833, a fine Roman altar, two feet and a half in height, one foot ten inches in breadth, and one foot seven inches in depth, was dug up in the churchyard at Ribchester, (figured by Baines, III, 380); and which is the finest and most perfect relic of Roman Ribchester yet remaining in the now insignificant village. It is placed in the entrance hall of the Vicarage, and the rev. B. T. Haslewood is so courteous as to let it be seen by any intelligent stranger, taking an interest in such relics.¹ (XII.)

"The sides of this interesting and ancient relic, which has survived the changes and mutilations of sixteen centuries, are ornamented with vine branches, and the front by the inscription. The lower part of the stone is mutilated, so as to destroy one line of the inscription, and a small portion of what remains appears to have been chiselled over; but in general the inscription is clear and distinct. The same marks of burning which elsewhere presented themselves, were here also most apparent. Besides the altar, a small fibula and ring of brass, a bulla, apparently inscribed with some characters, but now illegible, and three coins, one of Trajan, of brass, much corroded; the second of Valerian, also of brass, very perfect, and inscribed on the obverse, 'P. LIC. VALERIANOS P. F. AVG'. On the reverse, 'Felicitas Aug'; the third, bearing the head of a young man, but the name effaced, were found on this occasion."

In January 1829, two Roman coins, a Saxon styca of Keanred, thirteenth king of Northumbria, and fragments of a Saxon cross, about a foot and a half high, were found together at the Anchor Hill. Omitting the Saxon relics, we learn from the rev. S. J. Allen,—who, while in the

¹ As various readings are given of the inscription on this altar, and as it is intended to examine it more mi-

nutely than has hitherto been done, it is purposely omitted in this notice of Ribchester antiquities.

neighbourhood of Ribchester, took great interest in, and succeeded in preserving many of, its relics,—that of these coins one had *Obv.*, IVL. CRISPVS CON.; *Rev.*, within a wreath, VOL .X.; and around it, CÆSARVM ICON AVORVM. The other, *Obv.*, MARCVS AVRELIVS AVG; *Rev.*, a standing female figure, with the cornucopia and the legend “ABVNDANTIA AVG”.

In 1830, in digging up the Bowling Green, a silver coin was found,—*Obv.*, IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM.; *Rev.* P.M. TR. P. COS. II. P.P., with a sitting figure, holding in her right hand a garland, in her left a cornucopia.

Mr. Allen writes:—

“What other pieces of sculpture, etc., I had, were at the same time sent to T. H. Whitaker, esq., of the Holme, near Burnley, in whose possession they now are. They were not of great interest. The first was, I believe, ‘the top of the great two-handled amphora’ mentioned by Stukeley (*vide Hist. Whalley*, page 21, note), the mouth six inches in diameter, and the whole fragment about one foot and a half in height.

“The second had for some time been used as a stand for milk at Salesbury Hall, and seemed from the mouldings to have been part of a building. It bore faintly traced a patera or sacrificial implement of some kind.

“The third was a portion of a cylindrical column, with a capital and remains of foliage, having a rude resemblance to the Corinthian style. I could not quite satisfy myself whether it was Roman or of later date, and cannot put my hand on any delineation of it, though I think I made one before I parted with it. I found it at a cottage in Salesbury, and have a clear recollection of having seen one with similar foliage at Salesbury Hall, both probably brought from Ribchester.

“These were all the Ribchester antiquities which were ever in my possession.

“I have seen notices in the newspapers of the discovery of two small gold coins by a person named Swarbrick (of Claytons-court, Preston), about one hundred and fifty yards from the church going up the river, one bearing on the obverse, ‘NERO CÆSAR AVG.’ on the reverse, a sitting figure; legend, ‘JUPITER COSTOS’. The other (Dec. 1834), obverse, ‘DIVA FAUSTINA’; reverse, a full-length female figure, holding in her right hand, with extended and elevated arm, a bowl, and having a ring or circle pendent above the elbow of the left arm. Legend, AETERNITAS; the letters and figures in high relief and excellent preservation.

“A silver coin was also discovered, *circ.* 1834, on the bank of the Ribble opposite to Ribchester, bearing the legend, ‘A. SEP. SEVER. AVG’.

“And a small silver coin (June 1840) of debased metal and workmanship, bearing on the obverse, HADRIANOS AVG. COS. III. PP.; on the reverse a figure of Romulus bearing spoils, with the legend, ‘ROMOLO CONDITORI’.

“A beautiful and perfect fibula of bronze was also discovered in March 1834, in the grounds of Harwood Fold, Clayton-le-Dale, through which the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester passed (*v. Hist. Whalley*, p. 12). It is or was in the possession of J. Eccles, esq., of Leyland, near Chorley.”

“You will doubtless have heard on the spot that to the south-west of the chancel, about midway between the chancel and the churchyard wall, five steps were discovered at the same time with this altar, each four feet in length, one foot four in width, and four inches in depth. The altar was discovered about twelve yards westward from the spot where the remains of the temple were excavated in 1813, surrounded by the appearances of burning soot, etc., which have usually attended such disclosures at Ribchester. Near one of the stiles to the churchyard (I think to the east) is a stone resembling a low-backed seat, two feet and a half in height, one foot ten in breadth at the front, and one foot five at the sides, which is said to have been found near the pillar of the temple in 1813; perhaps it may be the corner anta described by Dr. Whitaker, *Hist. Whalley*, p. 19.

“An altar was found in the cellar of the White Bull inn, in Ribchester, A.D. 1818. This will probably still be found at the White Bull, where I saw it some years ago, as also the base of a column in the street, nearly opposite the front of the house, and another in the Vicarage yard.

“But there has been a sad disappearance of late years of Ribchester remains once on the spot, or within a short distance of it.”

From the twelve inscriptions now given, many of them fragmentary, we find (Nos. I and VI being probably the same) dedications of altars to Mars and Victory, to Mars Pacifer (or the Peacemaker), to Apollo Aponus, the Indolent Apollo, or Apollo in his character of Healer by means of repose), to those mysterious divinities the Mother Goddesses, and a restoration and dedication to Minerva alone, of a temple in the ancient Coccium.

Besides altars to gods and votive stones to emperors and cæsars, we have in the Ribchester relics a sepulchral and monumental stone (No. V); a legionary stone (No. IX), and a milliary stone (No. VIII). Amongst these inscriptions we find named or indicated Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Caracalla, and others. Nos. X and XII seem to refer to the same persons.

Amongst the bodies of troops named or referred to, are the sixth legion, victorious (II); the twentieth legion, mighty and victorious; a wing of Sarmatian horse, "the cossacks of the Roman armies"; and a wing of the Asti. The head quarters of the sixth legion, it is well known, were at York, and the legion is only incidentally named; one of its centurions being apparently in command of a wing of Sarmatians at Ribchester. The twentieth legion was stationed at Chester, and it is very likely to have thrown out a portion of its force northward to Ribchester. Amongst the other officers named, are Dianio Antonino, a centurion of the sixth legion; Ingenuinus Asiaticus, a decurion of the wing of the Asti; Asiaticus, a decurion of the Sarmatian wing; Lucius Julius Maximus, an officer of the same rank in the same wing; and the vexillation of a legion, whose number is lost, was under Sextius.

To these notabilia may be added the acquisition of the names of one or two imperial provincial legates, not before known, viz., Valerius Crescentius Fulvianus, and Titus Floridus Natalis. Ribchester has therefore contributed its full quota of information to modern times, relative to the Roman era of Britain.

Many more scattered coins and fragments of pottery might be enumerated, but the catalogue already given has swelled this paper too much. Dr. Whitaker (third edition, p. 28, note) speaks of a figure of a Roman standard-bearer at Standen Hall, near Clithero; but whether it is there still, we have not ascertained. A fibula, a buckle, several coins, and two handles of amphoræ stamped C V I V S, are to be seen at the vicarage. It is much to be regretted that these remains, instead of being scattered to various parts of the kingdom, had not been all collected together in one museum for preservation. Had there existed such a receptacle in this county, as the admirable museums at Newcastle and York, the monuments of the Roman Coccium and Mancunium, with its dependent fort of Melandra, might have borne their silent testimony to wondering thousands in every succeeding generation, for centuries past and to come, of the marvellous works of that extraordinary people, who have left so many records of their footsteps and their conquests in Britain.

At present the river Ribble has encroached vastly upon

the area of the station. Taking the extent of the fosse on the western side as a complete side of the station, and from the angle close to the river at the southern extremity, making a straight line perpendicular to this side, we find that the other angle to complete the rectangle would be on the other side of the river, just over the fence of the field, and directly opposite to the brook which forms the boundary of the station on the east. At an estimate by the eye, there may have been one-fourth of the area of the station washed away by the river; burying within its sandy bed Roman treasures and relics, probably for ever. In a line with this, or nearly so, the fishermen state that the Roman wall of the rampart extends into the river, and that at low water they can stand, about middle deep, on the sunken remains; when off the remains, on each side, the water is beyond their depth. The northern rampart has run from the angle at Anchor's Hill, along the fence of the field north of the church, in a direct line through the town to the brook, at the eastern side of the town. This has constituted the longer side of the rectangular area on which the station stood, and measures about three hundred yards. The shorter side measures about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty yards.

Most of the relics discovered, have been washed bare by the encroachments of the river. Little remains of Roman antiquities above ground. The bases of the shafts of two Roman pillars are within the vicarage-yard. Four smaller ones, taken out of the river, form the front of the doorway of the White Bull Inn, within the town. An altar, dug up in the church-yard by the present clerk of the church, stands in the passage of the vicarage-house. In 1836, in the extreme north-eastern angle of the station, a Roman bath was opened; the tiles, stones, etc., were taken away, but the floor was left untouched, and covered up again. Some of the stone props of the tiles are yet to be seen in the garden of a resident surgeon.

The walls of the ramparts around the station, above ground, have wholly disappeared. Most of the houses of the town have been built out of their remains. Besides, these have been robbed to build up the greater portions of Salesbury Hall and Osbaldestone Hall in the neighbourhood. At these places inscriptions have been found, and figures,

etc.; though nothing Roman is now to be seen at the modernized buildings, but a quern at Salesbury, and perchance some short pillars in the beehouse in the garden. Being a quarry for such extensive and so many buildings—the church itself included—no wonder that nothing is left above ground of the handy-craft of the conquerors of the ancient world.

The excavations lately undertaken, with the view of obtaining information for this congress, have laid bare the outer wall to its foundation on the western side. Unlike the foundations of the walls of the ramparts at Borrow Bridge, Melandra Castle, etc., it consists of loose stones, without mortar, or the cement grouting common to such foundations. On the opposite side, in the angle between the river and the junction of the brook, a large quantity of Roman pottery was found, consisting of numerous fragments of Samian ware, chiefly of pateræ, many marked with the potter's name; one ampulla, with both handles perfect, and others broken; fragments of glass, of common pottery, nails, bones of animals, in which were tusks of boars and swine; five Roman coins, three of which are of silver, but much corroded; two appear to be coins of Vespasian and Titus, the third of Vitellius; two of copper, much corroded, but apparently of the same period, etc.

Another curious circumstance in connexion with this station is, that the channel of the river Ribble has changed as much at the ford near Ribchester bridge as at the station itself. The line of Roman military road, on approaching the Ribble from the south, makes an angle at the first point where the channel becomes visible, turns towards the east, and runs straight along a ridge of ground in a line bearing upon the pasture ground about forty yards on the northern side of the river. Here it is intersected by the river from the west. This point in all probability would be the south side of the ford of the river at the time the military roads were formed; so that the river has left as much space on the northern bank at the ford as it has taken away from it at the station; such strange facts do little incidents frequently bring to light.

Except to the west, no line of military road can now be traced up to the station. This enters it midway of the rampart on the northern side, where stood the Decuman



Gate. The Prætorium was opposite this, and hence stood where the Ribble now flows. So active are the encroachments of the stream during floods, that houses have disappeared from the bank in my own recollection; many more in that of several of the oldest inhabitants. Unless man more successfully opposes the action of such floods, in a few generations the station at Ribchester will disappear, not swallowed up by an earthquake, as tradition affirms of its pristine glory, but by the stream which, serpent-like, now insidiously winds past it.

The era of the foundation of Coccium was probably A.D. 79, when Agricola conquered this part of the country, as related by Tacitus. It is just such a site as the Romans always fixed upon when left to the guidance of their own military skill and judgment. It is not a spot likely to have been previously occupied by the Britons. Their strongholds were either duna, or in the interior of vast woods, and not necessarily flanked on two sides by streams of water. It never was a port, though tradition ascribes to it such importance on account of an anchor being found within the fosse near Anchor's Hill. If vessels could navigate the Ribble so far as the station during the occupation of the Romans, they would never have constructed to it from the estuary of the Wyre a Roman military road for the transit and protection of their troops in visiting the spot.

The only difficulty now remaining connected with this great station is, that of satisfactorily accounting for the name of Rerigonium, mentioned as the first station from the Portus Sistuntiorum inland, in Richard's seventh iter. No Roman station but the adopted one at Kirkham can be traced out on the line, and this is far too near the Portus Sistuntiorum to agree with the distance given in Richard's *Itinerary*. Besides, if we adopt the notion that Rerigonium was situated at Kirkham, we then raise the difficulty of having the line of the road running through Ribchester—without any notice of the station there—a kind of conclusion more at variance with probability, than Richard's omitting altogether any mention of the Roman station at Kirkham through which his line of road passes. Kirkham has undoubtedly been occupied by the Romans on the site of an ancient British city or dunum, but being in after

times of little consequence to the protection of the country, it might, when the document whence Richard's borrowed account in his *Itinerary* was drawn up, have been evacuated, and therefore not deemed worth noticing. It is useless however to conjecture. The remains left to guide us in our search after truth, as far as now known, lead us to such statements as have now been made, and beyond these it is hazardous to make even suppositions, however probable and ingenious. The lines are all beset with difficulties, being wrong in the distances between the stations, in consequence of inaccurate copies. One station on the line of the tenth Iter of Antoninus, situated at Low Borrow Bridge, exists even without a name; and except what we ourselves have examined of the remains of the Roman military road, and the direction it takes, hitherto most has been blind conjecture and surmisings, without even the clue of the line of the road to guide the several perplexed antiquaries out of the labyrinth. Suffice it to say, that with one or two exceptions, the lines of the military roads within this district, are as easy to trace out as any within the kingdom, and until they have been accurately gone over, throughout their whole extent, guessing is arrant folly.

Roman roads, with their chains of stations, communicated, throughout the entire length and breadth of their extent, Roman civilization—the cement of the materials out of which they constructed and bound together the varied portions of their vast empire. They framed them, as they did the foundations of their mighty city, for eternity; and both yet remain, but fallen in their fortunes, and lying low in their present estates. Parallels to them may be found in our present roads, constructed for higher and nobler purposes; theirs were to bind the nations of the earth in one entire chain of servility,—ours to carry forth liberty to the nations, emancipation to the world. Relics of Roman history, Roman roads, remain in our land; ours may be perpetual facts, active scenes, busy with energy and life to the end of time, circulating amity and brotherly love, as the fruits of Christianity, acting like the very arteries of the globe around its vast and varied surface, till time is swallowed up in eternity.

RECENT DISCOVERIES RELATING TO ANCIENT
BRITISH CHARIOTS.

BY BEALE POSTE, B.C.L.

GREAT light has been thrown on the subject of ancient British chariots by the researches of a distinguished foreigner, the marquis De Lagoy, a resident at St. Rémy, near Avignon, who enjoys a high reputation for his literary talents, and his taste for the fine arts; and, in particular, for the success with which he has illustrated in his publications many interesting topics connected with antiquity.

With this as a preliminary, we may now state the basis on which the discoveries in question rest. They are derived from the numismatic researches of the marquis, who ascertaining that Julius Cæsar is authentically known to have contended with two nations who used chariots in their warfare, and that chariots very different in form and appearance are delineated on two of the medals attributed to this commander, has succeeded very happily in assigning the chariot of the one as being of that kind used in the kingdom of Pontus, while he shews the other to have been British. The work in which he has treated of this subject is one which has recently appeared on the continent, in the preceding year 1849, *On the Arms and Instruments of War of the Gauls*, in which his inquiries are extended to other nations, and among them to the Britons.

The line of research he has adopted is one requiring an extensive acquaintance with medals, access to the finest and best preserved specimens, as well as a very familiar acquaintance with ancient military affairs. All these requisites the marquis De Lagoy seems fully to possess, and having ascertained that the trophies of arms, coats of mail, swords, bucklers, and chariots, delineated on the Roman consular and imperial series, are actual representations of such objects, and by no means portrayed uncharacteristically, or at hazard, he has from this source, by his sound judgment and artistic skill, produced one of the most valuable works of the present day. Nothing similar has yet appeared in our own country; we may therefore the more readily apply and appropriate his labours.

Among the medals of Julius Cæsar of the consular series is one commemorating his conquests in Britain.

On this a trophy is represented, composed of such arms as might have been used by a British chief; a helmet, sword, spears, a carnyx or military trumpet of the Britons and other Celts, two shields of a large size, a military vestment made in the form of a cuirass; and last but not least for our present purpose, a chariot stands at the foot of the trophy, which the marquis assigns as well as the other implements of war to the Britons. This chariot, according to the comparative scale of the objects, is extremely small, and from the limited diameter of the wheels, but little raised above the ground. It conveys the idea that what it was intended to represent was nothing more than a small framework of boards sufficiently large for a combatant to stand upon; but it shews a peculiar raised ledge or bordering at each side in a semicircular form, in the part opposite the wheels, intended to prevent their circumvolutions from incommoding the occupant of the chariot.



The good and well-preserved impression used by the Marquis de Lagoy verifies these particulars; but it is necessary to make the remark, that the engraving of the coin by Vaillant, and that in Morell's *Thesaurus*, pl. III, fig. 7, are both unfaithful, being taken apparently from badly preserved specimens: there is, however, sufficient corroboration in another instance, which is to be found in the series of Roman family coins.



We have, on this second occasion, the medal of Lucius Hostilius, in which the same form of chariot makes its appearance. In this the chariot is represented in rapid retreat, and the combatant facing round, appears to be contending with an enemy who is pursuing him. The explanation is to be regarded as connected with some circumstance which occurred to Lucius Hostilius: it is a kind of hieroglyphic for us to decipher, and the most ready solution seems to be, that Hostilius having accompanied Cæsar in his expedition to Britain, and having himself been engaged in some of the battles with the British chariots, here commemorates the circumstance by representing one

in retreat, on his coin. This recording of personal acts, there is scarcely need to say, was one of the characteristics of Roman consular and family coins.

Having then this small and peculiarly shaped chariot on this second medal, and it being identified with that on the first by general appearance and certain points of correspondence, we are enabled to supply one or two particulars with which the former one did not furnish us. The pole is pointed very much upwards, being raised up high at the end to be connected with the yoke commonly used by the ancients, in fastening horses to carriages. The charioteer drives his horses sitting apparently on a small seat fixed to the pole, though the same is not visible from the minute scale in which the figures on the coin are delineated. This is quite on a par with the light and unincumbered, and at the same time, primitive nature of the vehicle. The second medal also shews us the semicircular borderings before mentioned somewhat filled up with a kind of framework. They must, indeed, have been filled up in some way to afford due protection from the wheels.

Enough has now been done to shew that, from a trophy on a medal of Julius Cæsar and from a family coin of a Roman officer, we are made better acquainted with the ancient British chariots than we were before. The principle of them seems to have been, that while they were drawn by two active horses, and conveyed two persons, the body of the vehicle was diminished to as inconsiderable a size as possible. Great numbers of them could thus collect on a comparatively limited extent of ground; and their evolutions apparently could have been performed in almost as small a space as those of cavalry. From their light and simple construction they must have had great advantage in traversing the country freely in all directions; and the feats of dexterity performed by the Britons with these vehicles, mentioned by Cæsar, must be attributed to the same cause.

One further observation may be added on the subject of the ancient British chariots. Several classical authors describe them as armed with scythes; but as Julius Cæsar says nothing of this, we may rather conclude that the contrary was the case. Indeed, he speaks of so large a number of them being employed on one occasion, (in the fifth

book of his Gaulish wars, c. 19), that the inference appears obvious that they were frequently used in the same way as cavalry, to act in dense bodies together; to which the apparatus of the scythes would hardly have been congruous. Nor does he, when he mentions their movements and manœuvres on other occasions, make allusion to their being thus armed. One testimony may therefore be placed against another; and credence rather given to that of the Roman commander, who himself fought against the British chariots, and may be supposed to give a true account of what he saw.

ON LOCAL NOMENCLATURE,

CHIEFLY CELTIC AND RELATING TO GREAT BRITAIN.

BY JOHN WILLIAM WHITTAKER, D.D.

THE remarks which are thrown together in the following pages refer to many localities which possess great interest with the antiquary, whether referring, as they chiefly do, to the more northern part of our island, or other portions of it, or foreign places. It is hoped they will not be found more discursive and unconnected than is almost necessarily the case in a fugitive composition like the present, which professes only to treat of the etymology of the names of districts, mountains, and cities, which happen to have attracted, fortuitously or in the course of casual investigation, the writer's attention.

Yet he wishes it to be understood that the inquiries which have led to the results which he intends to detail, have not arisen in any degree from a desire, entertained by him at the outset, gratuitously to hunt out the remnants of our ancient Celtic language, concealed under still existing local appellations. They have rather had their origin from the notice which has been at various times forced on his observation, of the glaring violence done both to etymology and orthography by ignorance and carelessness in the lapse of time, and the wanton recklessness by which

genuine nomenclature has been obliterated, or depraved into a senseless jargon. The attempt to trace and expose these corruptions has incidentally brought to light many interesting Celtic denominations, which, but for such a scrutiny, would soon have disappeared in the oblivion into which they had for a long series of years been hastening.

A few hints may be useful on this subject to those whose tastes may lead them into this line of inquiry. Many names are so obviously of recent English date, or clearly traceable to our Saxon forefathers, that they can give no clew whatever to the primary Celtic denomination. Nothing can be done in such a case by any process of analysis. It is hopeless. But something may now and then be brought to light by diligent inquiry among the neighbouring peasantry, labourers, shepherds, or aged village sages, whose memories can call up some other name which was in use, though then beginning to be discontinued. It was thus that Southey recovered the old Celtic name of Saddleback, a picturesque mountain in immediate juxtaposition with Skiddaw: and it is much to be wished that the original name, so rescued by his diligence, may replace in ordinary use the discordant appellation given by the Saxons, under the conceited notion that the outline of this hill had some resemblance to that of a saddle. On other occasions, when we meet with a name that has no obvious meaning whatever, or sounds like mere gibberish, we may be almost certain that a genuine ancient name (in Great Britain a Celtic or Cymric name) lies hid under it. In order to discover it, the first requisite is to ascertain its proper pronunciation, which is always to be learned from the labouring people, especially old shepherds. These simple people generally preserve with fidelity the old broad expression of the vowel sounds of the ancient accents. Never place any reliance on persons in a higher rank, on sentimental tourists, guide books, or the orthography of local histories, the great aids of innovation in all these respects. The main object of the writer then, originally, was to discover and restore ancient nomenclature, rather than to investigate etymological roots. For this latter department of inquiry he has little inclination, and gladly leaves it to others, conceiving the profitable knowledge to be so acquired very disproportionate to the trouble encountered

The causes of corruption in the names of places are very numerous. Sometimes they seem attributable to some accidental resemblance, in sound, of words in an unknown or disused language, to others of a totally different signification in the more recent vernacular tongue. This is a common case. That such a violent transference makes stark, staring nonsense, is no impediment whatever to the alteration, which is generally accompanied by some change in the mode of pronouncing. At other times, the sense of the old word being unknown, a new one in the latter language, of precisely the same import, is added to it: and the new appellation is an absurd commixture of two languages, forming in fact a reduplication of the same idea. In our own county we have a case of a triplication of this nature in the instance of Pendle Hill. The name of Mount *Ætna* is undergoing a similar transformation. It is not usually so named by the Sicilians. There is reason to suspect indeed that this was its appellation rather as a volcano than a mountain. It seems to have been commonly termed simply "*Il Monte*", being the only large mountain in the island. During the time that the Moors overran or occupied the country, they of course gave it the equivalent name in Arabic, *Al Gibel* or *Gibel*. Its ordinary appellation now is *Mongibello*, a strange compound of Italian and Arabic—an evident reduplication of the same idea. Sometimes a political event has caused a new name to be employed to the utter abolition of the old one: or the celebrity of some ancient hero has been supplanted by the renown of a modern adventurer. So *Calpe* has been metamorphosed into *Gibraltar*, and the Moorish invader of Spain has fixed his name on one of the columns of *Hercules*. The expression "*corruption*", however, is not here applicable; for the change is complete, purposed, and avowedly notorious. Not so, when a direct fraud on popular credulity has been practised, for the purpose of palming an historical falsehood on the public, in the days when religious imposture was reckoned a cardinal Christian virtue. Some of the results of this dishonesty are sufficiently ludicrous, and may be gleaned in abundance from mediæval hagiography. It would be a curious speculation to inquire how far it has contributed to the depravation of local nomenclature. The following is one specimen of the kind, and perhaps many

more might be found, if any sagacious person would undertake the research. Among the higher mountains of Switzerland is one, of remarkable outline and dimensions, the condition of which is an indication to the people of an approaching storm. Before Monte Rosa and Mont Blanc are enveloped in mist, a dark ominous cloud covers the stern brow of this singular mountain when a particular wind prevails, and this dismal cap frowning on its summit, while its Alpine brethren remain in clear relief on the blue sky, portends one of those terrific hurricanes to which Helvetia is subject. This has been described in a very masterly manner by Walter Scott, in one of his charming romances: and the circumstance above mentioned caused the mountain to receive from the Romans a name very significant, which means "the capped mountain". In a few centuries the meaning of the Latin name fell into complete oblivion; and possibly a slight deviation in respect of pronunciation might consequently occur, of which the churchmen or monks took advantage, and made subservient to a pious fraud. Their fable was thus contrived:—All who had participated in the betrayal and death of the Redeemer—Judas, Herod, and the populace of Jerusalem, and even that singular personage the wandering Jew, had been dealt with by signal judgments, except one, the chief offender, who had passed the unrighteous sentence from the tribunal of outraged justice. What really became of this representative of the Roman family Pontia, no one to a certainty knew. But the story invented for the purpose was this: that being afflicted with a judicial madness, as a direct visitation from heaven, he wandered as a maniac over the Alps, tortured by an accusing conscience, and ended his wretched life by casting himself down a terrific precipice, from the summit of this very mountain into a lake beneath, which was caused, for that particular occasion only, to burn with fire and brimstone. And so "Mons Pileatus", the "capped mountain", became "Mons Pilatus", in memory of the Roman procurator of Judæa in the reign of Tiberius, and bears that name at the present day. Indeed, there is some reason for suspecting that the story of his having been exiled to Massilia was an invention, for the sake of rendering this legend of his insane wandering over the Alps less outrageously improbable. Whatever, as

Christians, we may think of the moral complexion of his conduct, we can scarcely be so extravagant as to think that either Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, or Nero, would regard it in the same light, or punish him for it in such a manner.

We have at present, as before observed, no special concern with the etymons of Celtic nomenclature: but we are directly interested in the manner in which the Romans, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, might happen to intermeddle with Celtic names, let their radical forms be what they may. Some of these names have scarcely been altered at all by those who have occupied our island since its invasion by Julius Cæsar. Such is Ravenglass—"Ri avon glâs", "the river of blue streams". Three remarkably clear streams, the Irt, the Esk, and the Mite, without uniting their waters through their whole course, fall into the sea at this place. The name has belonged to one of them, and now designates the little village at its confluence with the ocean. There is a transference here, but no corruption. Penningent, the name of a hill in Yorkshire, remains unaltered, "Pen y gwynt"—the hill of storms; and its comrade Whernside has suffered very little, for "Gwern-siad" is good British for the "head of alders", which tree grows in profusion and is indigenous in the skirts of this hill on its north side.

Morecamb, "Mawr Cwm", the great hollow or bay, has also remained unmutilated; though it is pitiful to see what horrid work the antiquarian etymologists have made of it; at the head of whom stands Mr. Baxter, as positive and dogmatic as he is postposterous.

The above cases show, that in a considerable number of cases the appellations of places or hills were originally descriptive, having reference to local peculiarities, circumstances, and other obvious accessories, sufficiently open to observation. There is another case of this kind, if we mistake not, near Lancaster. Between that place and the great chase of Bolland (or Bowland) is a hill, the name of which is pronounced "Gloufagh" or "Cloufagh". This has not been seen in print, so no one can vouch for the modern orthography: nor should we care for it, if we had it authenticated. But the word is good British—"Glawog", and means "rainy", or "abundant in showers". And sure enough, the clouds, borne over the Irish sea by the westerly



winds, pour out their contents on the adjacent country in great profusion, as soon as they impinge upon the long ridge of this mountain, the first obstacle to their progress which they have to encounter.

The next example that occurs is one of decided corruption, both as to pronunciation and orthography; yet is there scarcely any deviation from the original name. Take it as follows: the valley of Langdale, watered by the Brathay, which there divides Lancashire from Westmoreland, extends from the Roman castra æstiva of Dictis, at the head of Windermere, to Elter Water, and, below that lake, divides into two smaller valleys, Great and Little Langdale, each of them bounded by considerable mountains. Between these two vales are hills of considerable eminence, one coming forward in advance towards the small lake just mentioned, and another, called "Wry Nose", of larger dimensions, behind it to the West. The name is so spelled in the guide books to the lakes; it is so pronounced by all people in the better rank of life: but, doubting these questionable and suspicious authorities, reference was made to the shepherds and country folks, who are slow to alter ancient names; and it was found that they never pronounced it "Wry Nose", the absurd nonsense of which had caused the inquiry to be instituted, but invariably "Rénnos" the accent on the first syllable, and the final letter a soft *s*, not *z*, as in the English "nose". This mode of pronouncing the name of the mountain instantly led to the discovery of its ancient name, "Re Nôs", the meaning of which is "Rex noctis", "the King of Night", a most appropriate descriptive appellation: for at the particular season of the year when the twilight is very brief, and as soon as the sun sinks behind this huge mountain, his shadow is cast in deep gloom over the valley to the eastward of him, and night speedily settles down upon the whole length of Langdale. Who would not lament that the "Ruler of Night" should have been degraded by the senseless and ill-sounding name of *Wry Nose*, which figures in all the guide books to the English lakes; whose authors never once asked themselves what the expression could mean, or whether it was appropriately descriptive of the object designated.

Another name, very common in this same lake district,

is Lingmoor, the last syllable of which, "Mawr", is a sure indication of a British origin. The genuine meaning of the word is "the great lion", "Lleon Mawr". And yet, though we have here an actual identity of the expression, this interpretation is capable of a serious doubt. True, there seems no impropriety in calling a huge recumbent mass of primitive *grauwacke* by the name of the king of beasts, to which its form may bear a fancied resemblance. But it is very remarkable that there should be in the same immediate country, three or four mountains of the same name: and it must be confessed that whenever the epithets "Mawr" or "Da", "great" or "good", are found in combination with another etymon in a local appellation, there is good reason to think the latter to have a mythological reference. But, in this instance, no plausible conjecture occurs with any such reference to the religion of our ancestors.

We must not however forget a subject, already alluded to,—how the Romans dealt with the names of places which the subdued Britons had established. We know they were fond of imposing their own, and suppressing, where they could, the native appellations of cities and places. But it was a difficult matter. Old habits, among a large population, with respect to household words in daily use, are not easily eradicated, even when no national prejudices are strong in their favour. Many fruitless attempts of this description might be enumerated. The Romans attempted to give the name of *Colonia Augusta* to London; but it proved a failure. Those to which they did give Roman names that had any permanence, may be surmised to be entirely new cities, which they have founded; such as, in Spain, "*Cæsarea Augusta*", which has been corrupted into "*Zaragoza*", and "*Ara Jovis*", which has melted down into "*Aranjuez*".

There is, however, no difficulty in instantly recognizing a genuine Roman name, which betrays its origin on first inspection. With the exception of the provinces *Flavia* and *Valentia*, and *Aquæ Solis* (*Bath*),¹ we have hardly any of them. No one could possibly imagine *Isurium*, *Regnum*, *Durovernum*, or *Cambodunum*, to be Roman. All that you have to do, is to dock such words of the rolling

¹ "*Prætorium*", now *Pattrington*, and a few others.

termination, which they added, and which euphony required for Latin ears, and you have the Celtic name of the place in its purity, as Iseur, Dwr-vern, Rêg, Cambod. The retention of the Roman termination will infallibly mislead the etymologist. But if the Romans have left us few Roman names of towns and cities, they have left us their own names, which their lineal descendants still bear, and which cannot, on any intelligible principle, be traced to another origin, Saxon, Danish or Norman. This will not appear strange when it is recollected that the *Legio vi Victrix* was in Britain for about two hundred years. No serious doubt can be entertained that the families, which are here put down at random recollection, viz., Marsh, Mounsey, Tully, Rosse, Cecil, Porch, Antony, Pouncey, and Manly, derive their names and their blood from the Roman families, some patrician and some plebeian, viz., Martia, Montia, Tullia, Roscia, Cœcilia, Portia, Antonia, Pontia, and Manlia. These and many others are descended from the Roman legionaries.

As the Britons were wont to name their mountains from the peculiarities of form, situation, and circumstance, so they were in the habit of naming their cities and strong places from the rivers in their neighbourhood. These are not to be supposed places of ordinary occupation, as towns in modern times, habitual places of residence, but stations prepared in the deep woodlands and marshes, not easy of access, and commonly defended by ditches and wooden stockades, to which in times of warlike aggression the property of the tribe might be conveyed, and which were defended with all the desperate self-devotion and bravery, that have been shown by the Mahrattas or Affghauns in our own times.

Some etymological embarrassment, with youthful antiquaries, has arisen from the adjunctive syllables which both the Britons and also the Romans have added to the original etymon. "Wick", or "vic", the same as the Latin "*vicus*", has been supposed to be always Gothic,—whereas it was also a Celtic term for a town or city,—only it was usually added in a more curt and abridged form. Sometimes the letter (k) alone indicates its presence. Take the following examples—York, Hexham, Manchester, and Papcastle. The Roman appellatives are Eboracum, Epi-

cum, Mancunium, and Pepiacum. Strike off the Latin termination, and the process gives you Eborik, Epiak, Mank, and Pepiak, that is, (after the Saxon fashion), Eborwick, Epiwick, Manwick, and Pepiwick. Respecting the second and fourth of these, the meaning of the etymon is not ascertained. Of the first and third we have a satisfactory knowledge. That of the former is the name of the river, that of the latter is mythological. The first we will instantly consider, and leave the other for a more suitable place in this memoir. As to York, then, the name of the river is "Wre", as now written, which in British would be "Ywr",¹ and the city on its banks would naturally be Ywrk for Ywrewick, as the Saxons would have written it. But the name of the river must have had an E, or a V, or something like a digamma in it; for on Saxon coins struck at York, we find it spelled EOFR or EFOR. This F or V easily slips into B, and this, when augmented by a Roman termination (euphoniæ gr.), gives us Eboracum, or rather Eburacum. Baxter calls the name of the river Ebury. We may pretty safely conclude that the British name of the city was "Ywrk", very slightly if at all different from that which it bears at present, but with a strong aspirate on the third letter.

Another source of perplexity in Celtic etymology arises from the variety of the etymons for water, ab, av, au, ak, ask, usk, on, avon, abon, aun, laun, ui, mui, etc., often compounded with independent consonants as augments, such is the flexibility and fertility of the languages of this family. Then again, the same word is found to designate totally different things. "Don" means either a fortified town, as in "London", or a hill, as in "Hameldon", or a wood, as in "Caledon." This was not so originally. The words were once distinct. In the sense of a city, it is identical in import with the Latin termination "dunum" or "dinium"; or by dropping the first letter "unium" or "inium." But the true British word was "Din", an abbreviate in composition for Dînas. "Don" in Celtic is a mountain; and Dean or "Dyn" a wood, as Hazledean, Hawthorndean, and the forest of Dean. "Londin" or "Lundin" was then

¹ In modern times the Ure has acquired the name of Ouse, though it still retains its original appellation during the greater part of its course, until it approaches the metropolitan city.

the name of the capital on the banks of the Thames, and belonged to the Trinovantes, a tribe of the Britons, supposed to be different both from the Iceni and the Casii, respecting which there has been much unsatisfactory disquisition. We are confidently told that "Lundin" means the city of "mud" or clay: and there is no disposition to doubt the signification of the etymon. The term may be explained in either of two ways; first, that the houses were built of clay, or secondly, that the city rested on a foundation of clay. The first of these is untenable, because if such were then the practice of the Britons, *all* their houses and cities would be equally constructed of the same material, and so it could not be applied as descriptive of this city in particular. And the second is not true in the sense here intended. True, there is a large deposit of clay under our present metropolis, called the basin of London clay; but London is not built immediately upon it. There is a tolerably thick bed of gravel on the top of this London clay, which crops out to daylight about Kensington, and you must dig through this before you reach the real London clay, at least in most parts of the city. It is not likely that Caswallon, whom Cæsar calls Cassibelaunus, or any of his predecessors, was aware of this bed of London clay; neither were they likely to be animated by so much geological zeal as to care what kind of materials lay beneath the surface. A different mode of accounting for the name of London must therefore be sought for.

In the consideration given to the causes which have apparently led to the names given to places and to mountains, more especially by our British ancestors, the most important of them has been left to the last, and purposely, because it is the most important, and, it is believed, the most extensive. Throughout all pagan mythology you will find the mountains consecrated to the gods. They are, as we read in Scripture, the "high places" where they were worshipped. Other reasons might be assigned, did space and time permit. Suffice it to observe that all heathen superstition had one common source, and took its origin from one grand superstition, the original seat of which was Asiatic Æthiopia, from which, as a centre, the different tribes of mankind diverged to people the face of the whole earth. Doubtless, each sept or tribe that

departed thence, adored only one God, but we should much err, were we to suppose that the self-existent author of the universe was the object of their worship. He was but a hero-god, a deceased man of peculiar eminence, raised to the sphere by the superstition of man, and identified with the solar orb. Polytheism arose from local changes in the name and character of this deity; and the people of one country, without forsaking their own, imported the god of another, without being aware of their identity. That they were in reality virtually the same, the accounts which have come down to us abundantly testify; and the Pantheon of India, Greece, Italy, Germany, and Britain, are essentially the same. But when we consider the nomenclature of these divinities, the endless variety almost confounds us. Buddhism seems to have pervaded the whole world, no part of it more than Britain. The chief deity of the Celtic Britons was called "Hu",¹ the solar god, the British Phœbus Apollo, but known by many other appellations. One of these was "Ila", another "Beli", or "Veli", or "Velin", or "Belin". He is precisely the same with the Indian Buddha (who is identified with Thoth, the Egyptian divinity, or Taut, or the German god Twisto), and whose peculiar and appropriate appellation was Sacà or Sacyà. He was also called Codom, or Godom, from whence comes the Persian word Khoda, the Gothic term Gott, and our own "God". Another name of the British Phœbus was Prydain.

For all these and similar details we must be excused for making reference in a summary manner to Davies' *Celtic Researches*, a learned work, in which the subject is admirably treated. Of this mythology the mountains of our island bear very unequivocal testimony, especially in those hilly districts to which the British were driven by their warlike conquerors, whether Roman or Saxon. In Cumberland is a mountain consecrated to the British Phœbus, under the name of "Hu Coch", the high or exalted "Hu", which has been corrupted into "Haycock". Two other of his peculiar names, "Ila" and "Beli", are thrown together, as was customary, in the name of another mountain in Westmoreland, which is now called "Hill Bell". It is certainly a hill, but it has no resemblance to a bell. There

¹ Pronounced "Hee".

is reason to suspect that Helvellyn has the same origin, the first syllable being the Saxon Hill, substituted for the British Pen; and "Pen Velin" is the hill of Beli, Veli, or the Chaldæan Baal. Of Buddha there are many traces. His most distinguished appellative Sacà, is found in "Sca" Fell, and Skiddaw is nothing but "Sacà Da", the "good Sacyà".

Tacitus (*De Moribus Germ.*), expressly tells us that the Germans, who were undoubtedly of Scythic origin, were worshippers of a deity named Mannus. Now this name, Man, was an appellation of Buddha, commonly used in immediate combination with one of his other numerous names, especially Codom, or Godom. These names, separate or in conjunction, we find continually and repeatedly in our island. Godmanton, Godmansend, Godmanchester, Godalming, Godstow, are examples. And for the word "man", by itself, we have it beyond dispute in the two names Mancunium or Manwick, and Manduessedo or Manceter, though in the latter it is combined with another etymon of unknown signification. Mancunium, therefore, is Manek, the city consecrated to the god Mannus, mentioned by Tacitus.

We are well aware that another interpretation has been adopted. Mr. Baxter, in his glossary, says very confidently that the British name of Manchester was Mancenion. Here he has not taken the precaution of casting away the Roman termination, and this omission has caused his blunder. He tells us that Man-cenion means the place of skins or tents, and asserts that this is good British; and he has led a far better man than himself, the learned historian of Manchester, into the same mistake. It is not British at all, but Greek. There is hardly a word in the British lexicon that has reference to domestic comforts or the arts of social life, that does not betray an origin either Latin or Greek. And, supposing the Britons to have learned the art of roofing their round huts with skins in the form of conical tents, and to have adopted the Greek word σκηνή, the regular (British) plural of the Greek word would be "scenion", not "cenion", and the name of the place would be "Manscenion". But, were the derivation ever so good, instead of faulty, it would still be worthless, because, if the Britons had this practice, which is not

denied, it would be an universal one, and not peculiar to Manchester. The names of particular places, if descriptive at all, should express something distinctive; otherwise they have no meaning or pertinence.

The embarrassment arising from the various senses of the British etymon "don", is almost equalled by that caused by the Saxon "borough". The word "berg" means a hill; "burgh", a fortress or fortified city. So "Königsberg" is the king's hill; and "Königsburgh" is the king's castle, fortress, or fenced city. But the former has been well nigh lost among us, and our hills are "boroughs" and "barrows". "Burgh", which some persons tell us is the Greek *πυργός*, is now "borough", "bury", "brow", and "brough". In the Saxon language it was "byrig", which has been transformed into "bridge", as in "Cambridge", "Cowbridge", and other examples.

Another example remains, and perhaps the most remarkable of British nomenclature, derived from the superstition of our heathen ancestors. I refer to the mountain in Cumberland, to which allusion has been made already, viz., Saddleback. Southey rescued the Celtic name of this hill from obscurity: and the old shepherds were his authority. But he seems to have himself corrupted it, as soon as discovered. The true name is "Blencathern". He made it "Blencathara", which certainly is more an Ossian-sounding word, has more of Indian peculiarity, but is nevertheless erroneous. "Blaen y Cethern" means the peak of witches, spirits, demons, or genii. The mountain itself is only divided by a narrow gulley from Skiddaw, which we have shown derived its name from one of Buddha's most distinguishing titles. At no great distance to the south, a very few miles removed, is a Druidical circle, in remarkably good preservation. We have here a very strong indication of the sanguinary character of the religion of the British idolaters. For immediately in the vicinity, almost under the very shadow of Blencathern, there are two gloomy valleys, Glenderamara and Glenderaterra, the names of which are sufficiently indicative of the purposes to which, like Tophat of old, they were subservient. "Glynn Dera Marw" is, in British, literally, "the valley of the angel or demon of death"; and "Glynn Dera Taraw" is literally,

"the valley of the angel or demon of (execution or) killing."¹

The last instance which we shall present you with of local nomenclature belongs to none of the classes already mentioned, and is perhaps the most curious of them all. It is the case of one mountain, which had lost its own name, and has stolen and appropriated to itself that of another, its next neighbour. As this is a matter of the writer's own personal investigation, he shall speak for himself. Every one knows, or has at least heard of, "Coniston Old Man".

All the mountains in the lake district have either a large rude stone on their peaks, set up on end, or in default of *one* such, a pile of stones, raised as high as possible.² I had soon reason to doubt whether "Old Man" was the real name of the mountain, not because, in respect of its signification, it appeared inappropriate, but because it was English and not British. There seems to be something peculiarly suitable in the appellation, especially if a venerable pile of granite be covered with snow, reminding the spectator of the silver hairs that so gracefully become man's latest years of life. Thus "Djibel Shiekh", the old man's mountain, is the modern name of Mount Hermon. Scepticism, however, having been thus excited, was soon ripened into disbelief, when I found that the name "Old Man" is popularly and universally given to every such large columnar stone or heap of stones on the tops of the mountains of that country. Every one of them is termed an *old man*. It is truly singular to notice with what pertinacity an ancient name, in a language that has been forgotten for centuries, will sometimes continue in vernacular use; which it will the more readily do, if accidentally it has in sound something like a vague semblance of meaning in the existing language. The fact of these stones at the top of the mountains having each of them the name of Old Man,

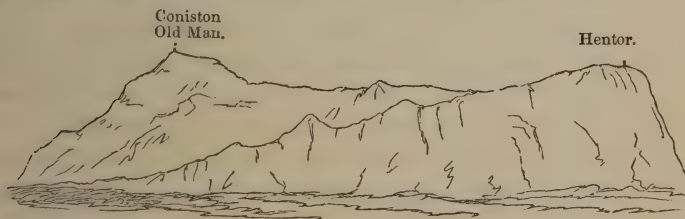
¹ Taraw "ferire, percutire".—Davies, Lex.

² Such a rude, shapeless, unhewn mass of stone, is throughout the east, especially in India, Cashgar, and Thibet, used as a representation of Buddha, and receives the worship of his followers. The same practice prevailed in the worship of Thoth in

Egypt, the Greek Hermes, and the Latin Mercury. This accounts satisfactorily for these piles of stones on the top of our highest mountains. Most of them have been dedicated to Buddha, and the practice has become universal, though its Pagan origin has been forgotten.

instantly pointed out the original British name, not of the mountain, but of the stone. The British expression is "Alt Maen", a high stone, or a heap of stones in a high situation. Alt Maen is exactly the Cumberland pronunciation, "Auld Men".

Now that which is an universal appellation for a monument or an ornament, be its object what it may, on the top of every considerable hill, cannot possibly be a distinctive appellation of a particular mountain. "Alt Maen" therefore was not the special distinctive name of the Coniston Hill, and could not possibly have been. "Old man", in the English sense of the word, also could not, because the word being English, would require one of no similarity in pronunciation to express the same idea in the British language. I conclude, therefore, that the original Celtic name of the Coniston mountain has been lost in the pool of oblivion. At least, all my inquiries, and they have not been few, have been as yet met by signal discomfiture.



The outline of this mountain is very graceful and picturesque, the height of it being 2577 feet above the level of the sea. The above sketch may serve to give an idea of its form as seen from the east. In front of it is another mountain, which looks something like its converse, or the former transposed: the long-swellings rise of the former, and its sharp precipitous descent from the apex being from north to south, and those of the other just the reverse. These two hills are distinct, yet close together, and joined together, or as it were soldered to one another, at their junction by a mountain mass of primitive rocks, in which are the Coniston copper mines. I was anxious to learn the name of this mountain, very little inferior to the Old Man in height, and equally imposing in his figure. The "Tiblerthwaite fells" was the reply to my questions, which only referred me to the name of the small vale district that

lay underneath it. Pressing for a more distinct name of the mountain, I was told that its name was "Weatherlam." This was the only result of many inquiries. At last a gentleman told me that he had discovered, having made an investigation at my particular request, that the most ancient name of the hill was Hen toe. Here, at last, I had what I was in search of. "Hên" in British is an old man, "senex grandævus." Thus Llywarch Hên, a celebrated British bard, is Llywarch "the aged". And "Twr" is a mountain, as all the inhabitants of Derbyshire are well aware. "Hên Twr", not Hentoe, then, is the real British "old man mountain", and the other is an impostor.

It has been observed above, that in this region, and I suppose in all mountainous countries, the shepherds or agricultural labourers are the best authorities for ancient nomenclature. And so they are when the object is to discover a forgotten ancient name, for they retain them best and longest. And so they are, when you wish to correct a vicious pronunciation or detect a corruption, for they adhere to ancient sounds, and keep the old accents in full perfection. But you must use this authority cautiously, and not trust them too far; and never as to the actual names. For the shepherds are continually inventing new ones. In their daily occupations among their flocks, scattered over the mountains, they have special names not only for each separate hill, but for every knoll and projection, scarped rock, bold precipice, or gently grassy declivity. Travellers are always curious to know the names of the mountains. A tourist who makes inquiries in one valley what is the name of that mountain, asks of a peasant for its name, pointing to it. On the other side, being then in a different valley, he receives a totally different name for the same mountain. How comes this? Neither of the parties, to whom the inquiry was addressed, gave the querist, in all probability, the real name of the mountain as a whole. He looked only in the direction to which the querist's finger pointed, and gave him the shepherd's appellation for that particular part of the hill to which his attention had been specially drawn. Thus, the name "Weatherlam" has been surreptitiously assigned to "Hêntwr", the legitimate and original "Old man mountain", and has got into most of the guide books. But upon close investigation I found it

was only a shepherd's name for a particular crag at its northern extremity, given to it because it was calculated to afford shelter from the storms to the young sheep, which it protected from the weather. It was confessed at last that the name had arisen and come into use within the last fifty years, and that "Hên Toe" was, in point of fact, the name of the entire mountain.

I have now brought this memoir to a close. For the length to which it has extended, I must apologize to my hearers, and candidly admit that in that respect it has exceeded both my intentions and wishes.

I will make no apologies for making no distinctions as to language, nation, or tribe, in any etymological research connected with mythological systems. In matters relating to this subject I hold it a matter of perfect indifference whether the original etymon, which enters into composition, be Celtic, or Scythic, or Scandinavian, Roman, Greek, Persian, or Indian. The religions of pagan nations are derived from one common source, and varied as they are by national peculiarities, refer, if traced to their real source, to one hero-god, one deified parent of the human race, fabled to reappear at special intervals, and raised to the character of the solar god. His names, however numerous and varied, are all of the same antiquity, and may be easily traced up to it; and consequently may be met with more or less in all languages on the face of the earth.

It was my intention to have also entered into an inquiry into the origin of the name of this our beautiful and happy island, "Britain", its people the "Britons", and their capital city, London,—subjects on which I have the misfortune very materially to differ in opinion with all who have previously written on them, and on which I hope to be permitted, on some future occasion, to offer some remarks to your notice.

ON THE TIPPETS OF THE CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL.

BY GILBERT J. FRENCH, ESQ.

IN many quarters considerable misapprehension prevails as to the meaning of the word "tippet", which occurs more than once in the canons of the English church: it is the purport of this paper to point out, as far as possible, the origin of this ornament, and the different uses to which it is applied.

The modern and *lay* signification of the word tippet, is a rather small cape encircling the neck and covering the shoulders. In this form it is still occasionally used, and will be easily remembered as a portion of the dress of many female charity schools. The tippet of the middle ages was a very different and more important ornament of the person. It formed a curious and conspicuous part of the hood or capucium, which was then worn almost universally by both sexes and all ranks as a covering for the head and shoulders. Its parts and uses will be easily understood



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4

by referring to the description of the antiquary Stow:—"These hoods," he says, "were worn the roundlets upon the heads, the skirts to hang behind in their necks to keep them warm, the tippet to lie on the shoulder or to wind

about their necks.”¹ It was, however, worn in various fashions, and applied to curious uses. Chaucer tells us, that the miller in the “Reve’s Tale” wore on holidays “his tippet ybounde about his hede”;² and of “The Frere”, we are told that—

“His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives
And pinnes, for to given fayre wives.”³



Fig. 5.

The tail-like appendage, called the liri-pipe, or tippet, varied in its length and breadth, according to the fluctuating fashions of the time. One of its purposes appears to have been to indicate the rank of the wearer. This is illustrated by the enamelled ornaments on the celebrated cup belonging to the corporation of Lynn, which was recently exhibited at the Society of Arts. The noblemen and ladies of a hunting party are there represented in hoods, with tippets reaching all the way down their backs, while attendants, huntsmen, and abigails, have the same ornament, varying from a minimum length of a few inches.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

So important was this formerly considered, that the

¹ Stow's "Survey of London", edited by Strype. Book v, chap. vii.

² "Canterbury Tales",—The Reve's Tale.

³ "Canterbury Tales",—The Frere, in prologue.

fashion of tippets, particularly with respect to their length and breadth, was made the subject of repeated royal ordinances. Thus we find that the queen of Henry VII was entitled to wear a tippet, "lying a good length on the trayne of her mantle, and in breadth a nayle and an inch." Peers of that time might wear tippets a yard and a half long. The gentry were required to wear them a yard long and an inch broad, while inferior persons were ordered "to have no manner of tippets found about them."

It must be confessed, however, that these sumptuary laws were never strong enough to resist the more powerful influence of fashion; as we find, in numberless illuminations of the period, the tippets of the medieval damosels and dandies trailing upon the ground, and growing out to the most inconvenient and preposterous dimensions.



Fig. 9.

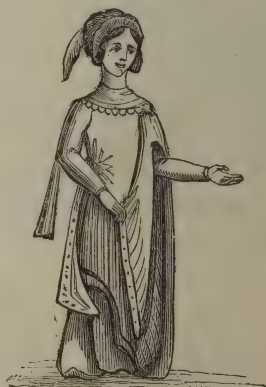


Fig. 10.

The custom of cutting the edges of the dress in a leaf-like pattern, which prevailed during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI, was extended to the tippets. Camden, quoting a satirical writer of that period, says: "The liripipes or tippets pass round the neck, and hanging down before, reach the heels *all jagged*."

As additional proof that the old tippet was an ornament of considerable length, and not a mere covering to the shoulders, it is only requisite to mention, that the last implement of the law was known until lately under the slang name of a "Tyburn tippet".

The tippet, or liripipe, is easily recognized in the hoods



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

worn by graduates of Cambridge and Dublin; though less noticeable, it is also to be seen in the Oxford hood; and it is not a little curious that while these hoods have entirely departed from their original shapes in the parts intended to cover the head and shoulders, so that they now serve no other purpose than that of a mere badge, the tippets should have remained comparatively unaltered. It may be remarked, that the present mode of wearing the University hood, hanging by a ribbon, and reaching nearly to the ground behind, is of questionable taste, as it has entirely altered the character and uses of the habit. At the time that the canons were promulgated, the hood was worn upon the shoulders, and retained in its place by about three inches of the portions which meet at the chest being sewed together,—a more elegant and consistent arrangement than that which is now usual.



Fig. 15.

It is, perhaps, not unworthy of notice, that the appendage known in medieval times as the tippet, is by no means peculiar to that period nor to this particular country. It would almost seem as if humanity in every age and climate has an inherent ambition to assume this tail-like distinction of the lower animals, though it is wisely worn "with a difference", as an ornament to the head. Liripipes, or tails, may be traced in the dress or armour of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, Romans, Persians, and other eastern nations; in the hair of the modern Chinese, Mahomedans, American Indians, Hindoos, and Swiss maidens, as well as in the queues, pig-tails, club-tails, and bag-wigs of English sailors, soldiers, and gentlemen, only fifty years ago. May it not still be recognized in the horse-hair appendages flowing from the helmets of the Life Guards, and in the ever-changing lappets, ribbons, turbans, streamers, and toques, of modern female fashion?

During the reign of Henry VI, the hood began to be superseded by the use of hats among the higher classes. In this change, however, the tippet retained its importance,



Fig. 17.

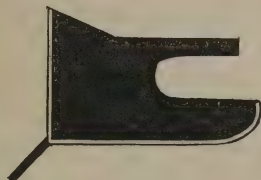


Fig. 16.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.



and was frequently appended to the hat,—a fashion which originated the still universally used hat-band.

In an inventory of the effects of sir John Fastolffe, we find enumerated among other articles of dress, “A hode of damask felwet with 1 tyyppet fastyed with a lase of silke,” showing that the hood and tippet could be separated, — “A russett hode of satyn withowgt a tyyppet,”—and “a tyyppet halfe russet and halfe blake felwet,” indicating their complete separation and independent use. When this separation took place, it appears that our ancestors were for a long time puzzled as to the best mode of disposing of the tippet. The first lord mayor of London who wore a hat, suspended his tippet from his neck. Ladies frequently presented theirs to favoured knights, who wore them in their helmets or as streamers from their lances. Some gentlemen wore them tied on the left arm, over their armour;¹ others arranged them like a baldric, fastened on the left shoulder;² and sometimes they were knotted under the left arm, like the ribbons of the orders of knighthood, which may probably owe their origin to the same source. The military sash may be recognized as another adaptation of the tippet fastened round the waist.

Mourning habits are always the last to be influenced by changes of fashion. At such a time many customs and relics of bygone days still cling around us, which have quite disappeared from the costume of the gay world. The hood, in its simplest form, and the antique black cloak, are still used at funerals in some parts of England; and the long solemn hatband of crape or silk is but a variety of the more ancient tippet.³ Such hatbands, under the name of tippets, are even now a part of the recognized mourning for royalty, and such as were, until lately (if they are not still) under the surveillance of the heralds, among whose duties their regulation is particularly enumerated. By the royal letters patent of king James II, appointing sir Henry St. George, knt., Clarencieux king of arms, he is

¹ Vide portrait of Richard earl of Warwick, ob. 1658, in Lodge's “Portraits”.

² Vide portrait of sir Walter Raleigh, ob. 1618, in Lodge's “Portraits”.

³ The modern custom of wearing at funerals both a hatband and a scarf

over the shoulder, curiously marks the extravagance which has crept into such ceremonies. They both represent the original tippet, which, when hoods were discarded, retained its place as a hatband in mourning costume.

authorized to "reforme and controule all such as at any funeralls or interrments shall use or weare any mourning apparell, as gowns hoods or tippetts, or such like, contrary to the orders limited or prescribed in the time of the most noble prince king Henry the seaventh, otherwise, or in any other sort, than to their estates and degrees doth or shall appertaine."¹

It is, however, to the tippet as a part of the modern ecclesiastical costume that our attention is in the present instance to be directed. There are three separate ornaments, having different origins, and applicable to different uses, which appear to be included under this general name—a circumstance which has caused no slight confusion in their use. The first of these is the chaplain's scarf.

It was a custom of the middle ages, when the nobles trusted less to law than to their own strong hands for the protection of their real or supposed rights, to engage, in addition to their ordinary retainers, the services of numerous persons of all ranks, but particularly tradesmen and artizans, who undertook to assist them with arms or otherwise, as they might be required, to swell the ranks of a pageant or add to the strength of a military force. And these parties in their turn expected the good offices of their patron to aid and countenance them in their ordinary avocations. The usual badge of this alliance was a hood of the livery colours of the patron, presented by him, and worn by his humble retainer at all such times as his services were required. Stow quaintly informs us that "these livery hoods were in old times made in colours, according to their gownes, which were of two colours, as red and blew or red and purple, murray, or as it pleased their master to appoint. But now of late they have used to be all of one colour, and that of the saddest, but their hoods being made the one half of the same cloth their gowns be on, the other half remaineth red as of old time. And so I end as wanting time to travail farthur in this work."²

Numerous instances are related of the citizens of London assuming hoods of the royal colours in compliment to the king, on such occasions as his coronation, marriage, or return from a successful war. When Henry V returned

¹ Dallaway's "Enquiry into the Origin and Progress of Heraldry", p. 311. ² Stow's "Survey of London", edited by Strype, book v, chap. vii.

from the battle of Agincourt, he was met "by the mayor of London, with the aldermen and crafts to the number of four hundred, riding in red with hoods red and white." And, in 1432, king Henry VI, after being crowned in France, returned to London, and "was met by the mayor in crimson velvet, a great velvet hat furred, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a bawdrick [tippet or scarf] of gold about his neck trilling down behind him. The aldermen in gowns of scarlet with sanguine hoods, and all the commonality in white gowns with scarlet hoods",¹ etc. etc.

This custom was not confined to the laity. The ecclesiastical barons bestowed their liveries on immense numbers of adherents. And chaplains wore the livery hoods of their lords of like material and colours, though differing somewhat in form from those of lay servants. It is probable that chaplains, ranking above servants and tradesmen, would, as a distinction, have liripipes to their hoods of considerable length. In a curious satire of the time of Henry VIII, called "The Wyll of the Deuill", there occurs: "Item I geve unto the best parte of the cleargie, everyche a red bloody gowne, and every other of them, a long greene gowne, or a fyne blacke gowne with everyche their tippettes of velvet and sarcenet, downe to the grounde, to be knowne from other men followinge me to my buriall."²

As a farther illustration of the custom, we abstract from the Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland, during the reign of Henry VIII, the following items from the list of articles prepared against "My Lord's going over the sea with his prince."

"Item ix Cotys of White Damaske Satten of Brigis garded with Grene Satten of Brigis for my Lords petty Captaynes.

"Item ix pair of riche rosses, of crosses of crimson velvet with as many white cressaunts to yeme, for to set upon the foresayde Cotys of Silk.

"Item xi yerds and i q^{rter} of rede cloth for iii gownes for iii Chaplaynes y^t went over with my Lord.

"Item iii Bendys of White Sarsnett and Grene, with vi Cross. vi Ross and vi Cressaunt for the saide iii Chaplaynes."³

¹ Stow's "Survey of London", book v, chap. vii. The Plantagenet livery colours were white and red.

² Of this curious satirical pamphlet, there is an unique copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

³ Northumberland Household Book, in the "Antiquarian Repertory", vol. iv, page 365; cressents, etc., were the badges, green and white the livery colours of that noble house.

The green and white sarsnet were probably for the chaplain's hoods, or tippets, so that my Lord Percy's "*petty captaynes*" and his *chaplaynes* wore his peculiar livery and badges, as did also "*Esperauunce his purcyvaunt*", his grooms, footmen, and soldiers.

This very objectionable custom, however, was not confined to the persons of the clergy, but was irreverently extended even to the most important ornaments of the church. Fox tells us that, in the second year of queen Mary, the rood having been set up in St. Paul's church with much ceremony, "not long after this a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the roode with Mary and John new set up, whereto, among a great sort of people, he made low curtesie, and said: 'Sir, your mastership is welcome to towne; I had thought to have talked farther with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queene's colours; I hope ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and greene.'"¹

Chaplains are now appointed, under certain regulations as to number, by royalty, the nobility, bishops, sheriffs, and other civil functionaries; the office is instituted by the presentation of the patron's scarf, or tippet, which is worn by the chaplain. It is, however, no longer of livery colours, but of plain black silk, in three folds, reaching to the skirt of the clerical gown, over which it is worn. The ends are usually deeply notched with mitre-shaped openings. The chaplain's scarf is frequently confounded with a scarf, or tippet, peculiar to the clergy of cathedrals and collegiate churches, and to certain academical degrees, afterwards to be described; and great irregularity in the use of both has been practised ever since the Reformation. A letter in the *Spectator* shows the abuse of the scarf in the last century, and likewise proves that the idea of its being a kind of livery worn by chaplains was at that time commonly entertained:—

"As I was the other day walking with an honest country gentleman, he very often was expressing his astonishment, to see the town so mightily crowded with doctors of divinity; upon which I told him he was very much mistaken if he took all those gentlemen he saw in scarfs to be persons of that dignity; for that a young divine, after his first degree

¹ Fox's "Ecclesiastical History", vol. iii, p. 104.



in the university, usually comes hither to show himself; and on that occasion, is apt to think he is but half equipped with a gown and cassock for his public appearance, if he hath not the additional ornament of a scarf of the first magnitude to entitle him to the appellation of doctor from his landlady and the boy at Child's. . . . When my patron did me the honour to take me into his family (for I must own myself of this order), he was pleased to say he took me as a friend and companion; and whether he looked upon the scarf, like the lace and shoulder-knot of a footman, as a badge of servitude and dependance, I do not know, but he was so kind as to leave my wearing it to my own discretion. . . . The privileges of our nobility to keep a certain number of chaplains are undisputed, though perhaps not one in ten of these reverend gentlemen have any relation to the noble families their scarfs belong to."¹

Another correspondent of the *Spectator* concludes a letter complaining of improper expressions introduced by the clergy into the prayer before the sermon, in these words:—"There is another pretty fancy. When a young man has a mind to let us know who gave him his scarf, he speaks a parenthesis to the Almighty: 'Bless, as I am in duty bound to pray, the right honourable the countess.' Is not that as much as to say, 'Bless her! for thou knowest I am her chaplain?'"²

It appears to have been sometimes thought that a patron, on presenting his scarf to a clergyman, and thus constituting him chaplain, removed him from the surveillance of the higher church authorities, and even beyond the reach of ecclesiastical law: thus we find that, "when the reverend Mr. Romaine was turned out of St. George's, Hanover-square, but reluctant to part with many that were dear to him, and who wished still to profit by his labours, he met them at the house of a Mr. Butcher; for which pretended irregularity, being threatened with a prosecution in the most apostolic spiritual court, the excellent Lady Huntingdon, supposing she had a right to protect him from this fresh oppression, gave him her scarf, and as her chaplain he continued to preach to the poor in her kitchen."³ It is

¹ *Spectator*, No. 609. This paper was published on the day of the coronation of king George III; the author (a clergyman) is unknown.

² *Spectator*, No. 313.

³ "Life of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon", vol. i, p. 133.

also stated that, under somewhat similar circumstances, this eccentric lady "bestowed her scarf, patronage, and protection on Mr. Whitfield."¹

During mourning, the black silk scarf, or tippet, of the chaplain is often exchanged for one of crape, the form being exactly the same. It should be worn over the black gown only, and (though the arrangement is seldom attended to) not over the surplice, because it then usurps the place of other tippets of at least equal, if not greater, importance, which we now proceed to describe.

THE CHOIR TIPPET.—For many centuries before the Reformation the clergy of cathedral and collegiate churches were accustomed to wear over their surplices, partly as a distinction, but more especially as a protection from cold during the early morning and the nocturnal services, a vesture of fur and cloth, which varied in form and colour in different places and at different periods. Its most frequent form was a kind of fur hood, with long ends or tippets, sometimes of fur, but more frequently of cloth or silk, which hung down before. It was, however, quite different from the hoods of monastic orders or from those of the laity, which usually had the long tippet behind instead of in front.

This particular hood was not worn by the priest officiating in the more solemn services of the church, but by the cathedral clergy, of whatever rank, in their places in the choir. It was called the *almuce*, *aumess*, or *amys*; and the name is so much like that of another ornament of the officiating priest, the *amice* (*amicus*), differing only in orthography, that there is a necessity to point out the distinction between them, particularly as they



Fig. 26.

have been confounded until very recently by the most eminent authors on liturgical subjects. The *amice* (*amicus*) was an oblong square of fine linen placed by the priest upon his head at the time he assumed the usual eucharistic vestments. On that portion which covered the forehead was sewed an embroidered ornament called the *apparel*, and, when so worn, the appearance of the *amice* was nearly that of the Jewish phylactery.

¹ "Life of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon", vol. i, p. 192.

When the more important vestments were put on, the amice was thrown back upon the neck, in which state the apparel appears exactly like, and is frequently mistaken for, a collar on the chesuble. Numerous examples of this occur on the brasses of priests.



Fig. 27.

The aumess (almuncium) or choir tippet worn by canons, was usually made of the fur of the gray squirrel, those of the inferior cathedral clergy of common brown or black fur, while dignitaries wore them of sable, and members of noble houses of ermine. The hood portion of this vesture appears to have been early disused, and in its stead a square cap was worn in choir, which could with greater ease be lifted from the head when the sacred name occurred in the services. This cap was retained in the Reformed Church of England until after the accession of James I, and is still used by the Roman Catholic clergy. The choir tippet is also worn by the clergy of Continental cathedrals, though the form and colour vary in almost every church. We learn from the rev. Mr. Webb's *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, that at the cathedral, Ratisbon, "the chapter wear red silk tippets in the stalls"; at the Duomo, Milan, "the canons wear over the surplice a scarlet cape and mantle, the minor canons carry furred capes over the arms, and the singing men wear over their surplices hooded black mantles faced and lined with green"; and at



Fig. 28.

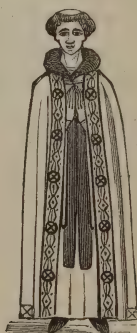


Fig. 29.



Fig. 30.

"the Duomo, Verona, the clergy wear blue cravats, cassocks, and short laced surplices tied with ribbons of different

colours''. Such are some of the varieties of the ancient aumess, as now worn by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church.

The choir tippet occurs frequently on the brasses of English canons in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it may be distinguished from the stole by the rounded terminations



Fig. 31.

of its long tippets, whether of fur or cloth, and by small plummets of lead frequently appended to weigh them down; it is usually worn over the surplice and under the splendid processional vesture called the cope.



Fig. 32.

This, however, was not always the case, as in numerous instances it is found without any superior covering. In very early examples a kind of bell-shaped ornament is found attached to the aumess, which at a later period was represented by the tails of the animals whose skins formed



Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.

the cape. This was particularly the case in the reign of Henry VII, about which time the long tippets were severed, just as the tippet disappeared from the lay hood. Perhaps it is to this bell-shaped ornament of the aumess that Chaucer alludes, as enabling him to recognize the canon in the *Canterbury Tales*—

“ In my herte wondren I began
 What that he was, till that I understode
 Now that his cloke was sewed to his hode,
 For which when I had long avised me
 I demed him some chanon for to be.”

Clok, it must be remembered, was the old name for a bell or bell-shaped ornament, as the klok of a stocking.

It is just possible that at an early time the canons' hoods had real bells attached to them, which we know was the case with the robes of the Jewish priesthood, and the custom was adopted by Christian ecclesiastics both of the Eastern and Western Churches. Dr. Rock informs us that a few years ago he “ was shown, in the inner sacristy at the great church of Aix-la-Chapelle, an old cope trimmed at the bottom with a row of silver bells beautifully made, of a slender tapering form, both in shape and size very much resembling the unblown flower of the graceful fuchsia fulgens.”¹

There is a triangular shaped piece of stuff worn attached to the hood by certain university officers, and by the preachers at St. Mary's, Oxford, which has been for some time a kind of archæological puzzle. It is shaped like the klok of a stocking, and may probably be such an ornament as Chaucer's canon had sewed to his hood, though this is merely offered as conjecture. It may be remarked that Chaucer did not intend to say, as most of his commentators have supposed, that the cloak or mantle was sewed to the hood; this would have been no distinguishing mark of the canon, as it was an ordinary custom among all classes at that period; nor would that accomplished master of language be likely to describe a larger garment as sewed to a smaller; had he meant what the commentators supposed, Chaucer would have said, “ his hode was sewed to his cloke.”

To show that the choir tippet was adopted into the Reformed Church of England, I quote portions of the account which archbishop Parker has left us of his own consecration to that office at Lambeth Chapel. “ The archbishop”, he says, “ enters the chapel about five or six through the western gate, clothed with his scarlet gown reaching to his feet, and with his hood”.² After morning prayers and a sermon

¹ “ Church of our Fathers”, vol. i, which took place at the consecration of archbishop Parker. Published by the page 418.

² Account of the rites and ceremonies Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

by Scory, bishop elect of Hereford, communion was celebrated by the bishop elect of Chichester, in a surplice and silken cope, assisted by the archdeacons of Canterbury and Lincoln similarly vested. The consecration having taken place, he continues: "At length these sacred rites being finished and completed, the archbishop goes out by the northern porch accompanied by the four bishops who had consecrated him, and forthwith, attended by the same bishops, he returns through the same porch, clothed with the white episcopal surplice¹ of a bishop, and 'chimera', as they call it, made of black silk, about his neck, but on some part of his collar were sewed precious skins they commonly call sables—also the bishops of Chichester and Hereford being clothed in their own episcopal garments, viz., with the surplice and chimera". In the same document we are told that Miles Coverdale, who assisted in the consecration, "used nothing but a woollen gown reaching down to his ankles."



Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.

In the chimere of the episcopal habit, the ancient choir tippet or aumess will be readily recognized, though it obtained upon this occasion a new and secular name, in deference, probably, to the known opinions of Coverdale and others who were parties to the consecration. The identity of this chimere of archbishop Parker with a furred scarf or tippet worn by preceding church dignitaries may be seen from the portrait of Parker, where the

¹ The rochet.

scarf without the sable is sufficiently evident, and that of archbishop Warham, where the sable collar and the silk scarf may be both distinguished. The chimere has since grown into a robe of black satin nearly covering the rochet, and to it the lawn sleeves are now attached. The choir tippet, however, has not been discarded; it is still a portion of the episcopal costume worn in addition to the chimere; it also continues to be used by prebends and canons of English cathedrals over the surplice, irrespective of any appointment as chaplain, or of their academic status.

The modern English choir tippet and the chaplain's scarf resemble each other, not only in form and material, but in the circumstance that they may both be worn as a part of the everyday and outdoor costume of the clergy, neither of them being essential to the offices of the church, nor intended to be used in administering her more solemn services. The one serves to mark connexion with a cathedral or collegiate body, by whom a regular service with daily prayers is performed; the other is the badge of an engagement to offer prayers for, and to superintend the religious duties of, some particular person or family.

The seventy-fourth canon ecclesiastical, enjoining "decency in apparel to ministers", appears to refer both to the chaplain's scarf and choir tippet now described. By it "deans, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and prebendaries, in cathedral and collegiate churches, being priests or deacons", are instructed to wear gowns with hoods or tippets of silk or sarsnet and square caps, an injunction applicable in all respects to the choir tippet. "Doctors in divinity, law, and physic, bachelors in divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors of law having any ecclesiastical living", are entitled to wear the same costume. This appears to be a permission granted by the church in compliment to their academic rank, irrespective of connexion with any cathedral church or of any appointment as chaplain; all other ministers, who have not the requisite academic degree, are "to wear the like apparel as aforesaid, except tippets only", that is, gowns and tippets, but not the hood, that being an indication of university rank distinctly prohibited to ministers who are not graduates, under pain of suspension by the fifty-eighth canon. The tippet permitted to these non-graduates is presumed to be the scarf presented by patrons

to their chaplains, and which may be worn by priests or deacons, whether graduates or otherwise.

THE PRIEST'S TIPPET OR STOLE.—The fifty-eighth canon, which regulates the dress of the clergy “reading divine service and administering the sacraments”, directs graduates to wear upon their surplices the hoods of their degrees, and permits such ministers as are not graduates to wear “decent tippets of black”. It is presumed that this particular tippet does not refer to the chaplains’ or canons’ scarfs, neither of which would be applicable under such circumstances according to the ancient usages of the Christian Church, but rather to the orarium or stole, one of the earliest symbolical vestures of Christianity. To identify this ornament of the clergy with the tippet of the Reformed Church, it may be only necessary to mention that Bingham, in a translated quotation, says that “the deacons resembled the wings of angels with their veils or *tippets* on their left shoulders, running about the church and crying out, Let none of the catechumens be present at the celebration of the mysteries.”¹ And again, “The council of Laodicea has two canons concerning the little habit called *orarium*, which was a *scarf* or *tippet* to be worn upon the shoulders, and might be used by bishops, presbyters, and deacons,” etc.



Fig. 38.

The stole in the earliest days of the Christian Church was called the orarium; it then consisted of a strip of linen hung over the neck. Some writers derive its name from *ora*, because it was employed to wipe *the face* by those who ministered in public; though its more probable origin is from *orare*, as it was ever the peculiar symbol of *prayer*, and is said to have been worn by females during public prayers as a covering for the head, in accordance with the admonition of St. Paul: “Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?”² The orarium had purple borders, a custom derived from the classical garments, which were but slightly modified when first

¹ “Antiquities of the Christian Church”, vol. i, page 646.

² 1 Corinthians, xi, 13.

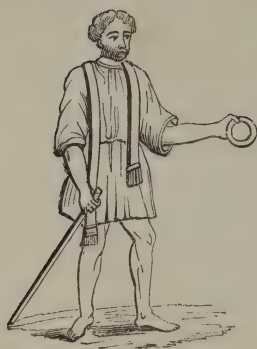


Fig. 39.

used by the early Christians. Indeed examples are frequently met with of an ornament exactly similar to the modern stole worn upon the shoulders of the ancient Romans when offering sacrifice.

The orarium or *stole*, by which name for a long period it has been known, is a part of the sacerdotal costume which has always been held of the highest importance by both the Greek and Latin Churches. Its purpose was to symbolise the priestly office and authority; for though worn

by deacons, it was over one shoulder only, as indicating the limited powers of that office. All orders above that of deacon invariably used it in the solemn services of the Church. The modern stole of the Church of Rome has greatly widened ends, with crosses embroidered upon each, and a third in the centre. Those used in the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth centuries had frequently a broader piece placed upon the ends, and fringed. But the best examples from brasses show the stoles of uniform width, or of very slightly and gracefully increased dimensions at the ends. It is rare to find on them at that period the three crosses now considered indispensable by the Roman Catholic clergy, though doubtless every stole was marked with one cross in the centre where it rested on the neck, a custom which was extended to all vestments set aside for sacred purposes. No satisfactory reason has been assigned for the broad ends of the modern Roman Catholic stole, which cannot be compared for elegance of form with those of the fourteenth century. The stoles were made of the very richest materials, em-



Fig. 40.

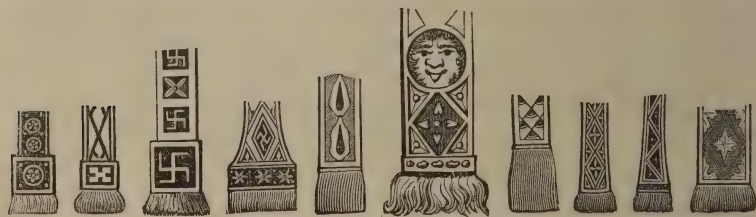


Fig 41.

42.

43.

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49.

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broidered in gold, silk, or jewels, and in colours corresponding with the vestments used at the particular seasons of fast or festival. It is presumed that the Reformed Church, in repudiating this custom, ordered the tippets of her ministering clergy to be *decent* (i. e. *plain*) and uniformly *black*. During mass, the officiating priest of the Roman Catholic communion crosses the ends of the stole upon his breast, fastening it under the girdle, while the deacon pins the ends under the right arm. These customs, however, are of comparatively recent introduction, and were not practised in the early Church; nor, except in a few recent instances, has it ever been the custom of the Reformed Church in England. Numerous examples of the form of the ancient stole may be met with on the monumental brasses of bishops and priests; they are seen with the ends terminating in a fringe worn under the cope, or



Fig. 51.

falling beneath the edge of the chesuble, and always corresponding in shape and ornamentation with the maniple hung over the left arm. The clergy of the Reformed Church of England, who adopt the tippet as a *stole*, wear it in the form of a strip of black silk about four inches wide, a little more than three yards long, and simply fringed at the ends. It is of course never worn over the gown, but only with the surplice.

In the Latin version of the canons, the word *liripipium* corresponds with the English *tippet*. It is difficult to account for the



Fig. 52.



Fig. 53.

origin of this word, which has been supposed to be derived from *cleripeplum*; probably it may be a compound of *lira*, a ridge between two furrows, and *peplum*, a long robe of white or purple worn by the goddesses, which nearly corresponds with the ancient classical vestment, with its purple borders upon the white linen. This, however, is mere conjecture.

The canon further restricts non-graduates to the use of "some decent tippets of black, *so it be not silk*." This is a clause from one of the sumptuary laws which attempted very unsuccessfully to regulate the inordinate passion for extravagance in dress so frequently complained of by early English writers, and, like many other of the canonical regulations, is no longer applicable to the present altered state of society.

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NOTES ON HUMFREY CHETHAM AND HIS FOUNDATION.

BY JOHN E. GREGAN, ESQ.

It is not my intention, on the present occasion, to occupy your time with any lengthened or minute statement respecting the history of the building within the walls of which we are now assembled ;¹ for the details are within the easy reach of every one who wishes to inform himself on the subject. At this late period of the congress your time is valuable ; I shall therefore merely allude, and that as briefly as possible, to a few of the leading events in the life of that good man, to whose large and enlightened benevolence, this charitable foundation owes its existence : concluding with a few remarks on the architectural peculiarities of the building.

Humfrey, fourth son of Henry Chetham of Crumps-all, was baptized in the collegiate church of Manchester, on the 10th of July 1580. It has generally been supposed that he received his education in the Manchester Free Grammar School, and that he was afterwards apprenticed in the town along with his brothers George and Ralph.

The Chethams appear to have been the principal buyers of fustian in the town, supplying the London dealers with this article of clothing, then in general use throughout the country, and for the manufacture of which the towns of Manchester and Bolton were, at that time, much celebrated. Eminently successful as a merchant, Mr. Chetham was no less remarkable for integrity and uprightness in his dealings, than for the piety, benevolence, and general charity of his character. He amassed a large fortune, and expended a considerable portion of it in the purchase of estates in this county, residing chiefly at Clayton-Hall, within a few miles of the town of Manchester.

In 1634 Mr. Chetham, being then a man of consideration in the town, and held in very general respect, was nominated to fill the office of high sheriff of the county. From

¹ This paper was read in Chetham's acted as local secretary to the Congress. hospital by the author, who kindly

the modesty of his nature, he sought however to shun rather than court the honour thus pressed upon him; and, moreover, from the troubled political aspect of the times, he was sagacious enough to foresee that the dangers and difficulties of such an office would, in all likelihood, be greater than he cared to encounter. He endeavoured, through the influence of a friend, to induce the privy council to substitute some other name for his own; but the application was unsuccessful. His appointment was confirmed by the king in the February of the same year; and in December following, he was nominated collector of the first levy of the obnoxious tax of ship-money.

Notwithstanding the general discontent of the people at this imposition, Mr. Chetham so discharged his arduous duties as to retain the good will of the county, acting throughout with great moderation, fairness, and ability; "insomuch", it was said, "that gentlemen of very good birth and estate did wear his cloth at the assize, to testify their respect for him". Indeed, during the whole of this trying period, the course he pursued was such as to gain the confidence and esteem of all parties; for on the establishment of the Commonwealth, he was called to the office of county-treasurer, his appointment, notwithstanding his petition to parliament to be excused "on account of his many infirmities", being dated the 6th of September 1643.

He spent his later years in the retirement and tranquillity of his country residence at Clayton Hall, and on the 12th of October 1653, this good man died, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the collegiate church, now known by the name of the "Chetham Chapel".

Fuller classes him amongst his worthies, and tells us that "he was a diligent reader of the Scriptures, and of the works of sound divines; and a respecer of such ministers as he accounted truly godly, upright, sober, discreet, and sincere". From the many wills which he made from time to time, we discover that his thoughts were constantly employed in schemes having for their object the good of his fellow-men; and his liberality increased with his fortune, for each successive scheme was more comprehensive than the preceding. Never having married, he adopted the children of his poorer neighbours,

and throughout the greater part of his life he maintained a number of boys, lodging them with respectable householders in the town, and paying for their food, clothing, and education.

His last and greatest act was the foundation of this hospital, now called after his name. He bequeathed the sum of £7,000 for the purchase of an estate, the proceeds of which were to be devoted for ever to the maintenance and education of forty poor boys, from the age of six years to that of fourteen; and on leaving the hospital they were to be apprenticed, or otherwise provided for.

Another bequest of Mr. Chetham's was the sum of £1000 to purchase books, and the sum of £100 for the purpose of providing a suitable building to contain them, forming a library for the free and unrestricted use of the public for ever. And further, for the maintenance and continual enlargement of this library, he bequeathed, after the payment of certain legacies, the residue of his personal estates, amounting to more than £2000.¹ In addition to this, he bequeathed the sum of £200 for the purchase of "Godly English books", to be chained upon reading-desks in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and in the chapels of Turton, Walmersley, and Gorton. Within the last forty or fifty years, the broken fragments of the desks and chains, and a few tattered leaves of the books, were all that remained of this generous gift of the good old merchant.

It was a great object with Mr. Chetham, during the later years of his life, to secure a convenient building in which to carry out his charitable views; and the place of our present meeting was selected as the most suitable which the town of Manchester at that time afforded. It was originally erected for the residence of the clergy of the neighbouring collegiate church, on the same spot where the old manor-house of Manchester had previously stood, and which had been for centuries the residence of the Grelleys and De la Warres, lords of Manchester.

¹ The library, which is lodged in the hospital, has greatly increased since the time of its establishment, and is now one of the finest collections in the county, containing many works of great worth and rarity. It is a boon of incalculable value to the neighbourhood, being one of the very few libra-

ries in the country perfectly free and open to the public, who enter and read when they please; the only formality binding on the student, being that of asking the librarian for the volume he wishes to peruse, and entering his name in a book, which lies continually open for the purpose.

Hollingworth, who was a fellow of the College of Manchester, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, says, in his *Chronicle*, that "the manor house stood in or neere to the place where the colledge now stands, and was called the Baron's court or Baron's yerde, and the place was called Baron's Hull, as the neighbouring banke, now called Hunt's banke, was then called Hunt's Hull."

Thomas, lord de la Warre, the founder of the college, left a considerable sum of money to be expended on the erection of the buildings, for the accommodation of the warden and fellows. According to Hollingworth, "this Thomas being lord of the mannor and parson of the parish, as well as patron, considering that the parish was large and populous, and that the former rectors, some never did reside, bethoughte himself, as well for the greater honour of the place, as the better edification of the people, to erect a collegiate church in Manchester." "Then the sayd Thomas de la Warre made a deed of gift and feoffment of his lands and rectory of Manchester to Thomas bishop of Durham, (who was also chauncelor of England, etc.)" "This Thomas bishop of Durham, etc., founded a collegiate church", etc. And further: "Then Thomas de la Warre presented to William bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, John Huntingdon, to bee the master or keiper of the sayd college; and the sayd Thomas bishop of Durham, etc., did give, grant, and confirm unto the sayd John Huntingdon five messuages and ten acres of land, which were parcels of the manor of Manchester, one messuage with the appurtenances, with one acre and twenty-four pearches, called Baron's Hull and Baron's Yerde", etc. etc.

The old Baron's Hall was then demolished, and the main body of the present building, *i. e.*, the part surrounding and enclosing the quadrangle, was probably erected during the life-time of the first warden (Huntingdon), in Henry VI's time.

The situation must, at that time, have been picturesque and beautiful; on the summit of a precipitous rock, at the confluence of the rivers Irk and Irwell. The demesne attached to the college was ample in its extent, and possessed the privilege of affording protection to those who had offended the laws of their country. Bounded on the

south and east by the ancient ditch¹ of the Baron's Hall, and on the other two sides by the Irk and Irwell, its isolated position offered many advantages to those who sought the shelter of its sacred precincts.

The warden and fellows continued to reside here till the College was dissolved, in 1547, the first year of the reign of Edward VI, who conveyed the buildings to lord Derby, in the possession of whose family they remained until the time of the civil war, when they were seized by the sequestrators on behalf of the parliament.

Mr. Chetham, considering the college buildings suitable for the purposes of the charitable foundation which he contemplated, entered into negotiations with the parliamentary commissioners, with a view to a purchase. But certain conditions being attached to the sale,² which were considered too dictatorial, and moreover, indicative of distrust on the part of the commissioners with regard to the honour and purity of Mr. Chetham's intentions, the negotiations were broken off; and in the meantime Mr. Chetham died. His executors soon afterwards renewed the application, and the purchase seems to have been completed about the month of November 1654.

In due time, the boys, who had been boarded³ at Mr. Chetham's expense, in the houses of certain inhabitants of the town, were transferred to the college, which now became "Chetham's Hospital"; and the benevolent intention of the venerable founder was consummated.

At the beginning of the first minute book kept by the feoffees, there occurs the following interesting record of the meeting held in the hall for the dedication of the building to its present charitable uses.

" Thursday, the 5th day of August, 1656.

" MEETING FOR THE DEDICATION OF THE HOSPITALL.

" When many of the feoffees and other persons were assembled in the hall of the said hospitall, Mr. Richard Hollingworth, one of the feoffees (and two other ministers assisting in prayer and praising of God), did first briefly show the lawfulness and fitness of dedication of houses (especially

¹ The Hanging Ditch.

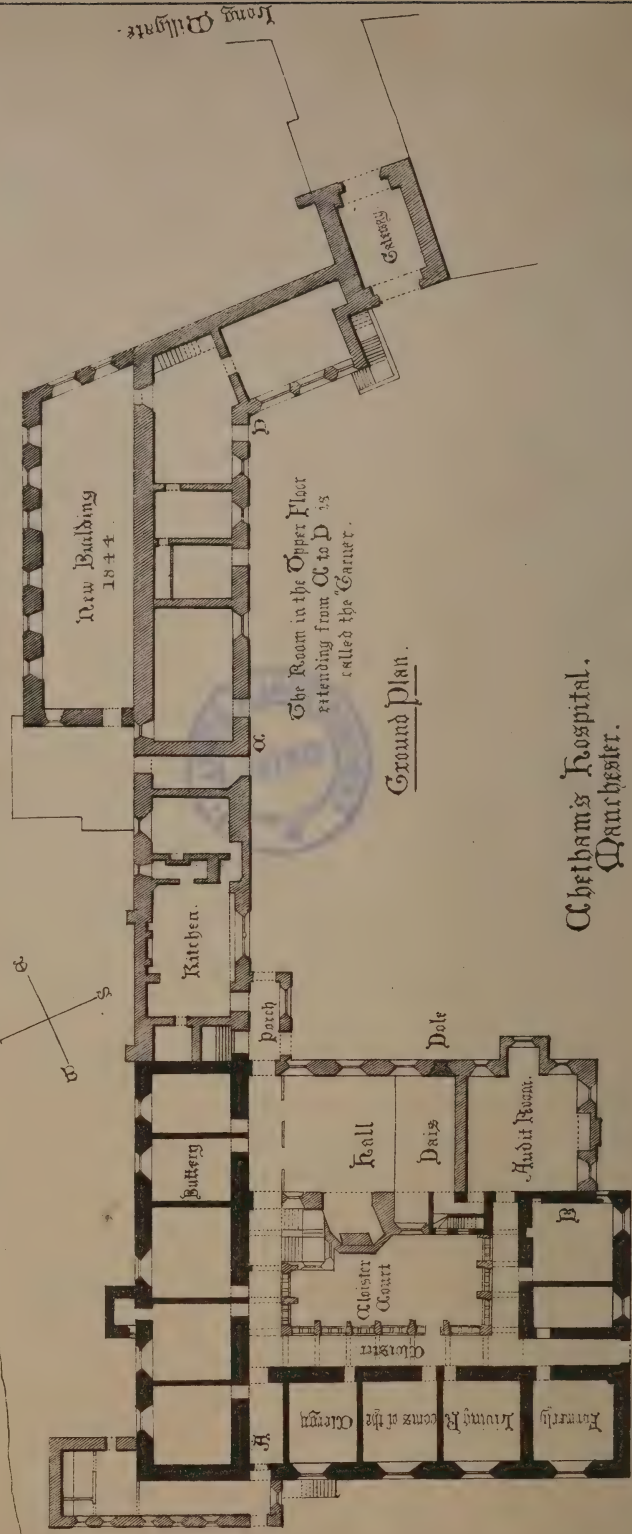
² By Mr. Birch, of Birch Hall, one of the sequestrators.

³ Or "tabled", as the term stands

in the accounts of that time, still preserved; and many of which are in Mr. Chetham's own handwriting.

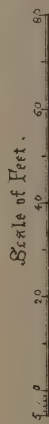


River Irk.



Ground Plan.

Chetham's Hospital,
Manchester.



of publick houses) ffrom the 20th of Deuteronomie and the 5th verse, and the 30th Psalm and the 1st verse, and the manner of such dedication. And afterwards in a large speech shewed that the house had formerly been the haule or manor house of the Grelles or Gresleys, lords of Manchester, and was then called Baron's court or Baron's yerde; and afterwards it was built colledge wise for the inhabitation of the warden and ffellows of the collegiate church of Manchester, and called the colledge: and about one hundred years agoe was alienated to the earl of Derby, and was accounted the earl of Derby's house in Manchester; whence he took occasion to complain of the late sale of the lands of the appropriated rectory in Manchester, which he affirmed was most unjust and illegal. Hee shewed alsoe that from henceforth the sayd house could fytylly and justly bee called by noe other name than by the name of Mr. Chetham's Hospitall. Hee shewed further that God had not only a general title and interest in the house, as was the case in all other houses, but that he had alsoe a speciall and peculiar title to it above other houses by virtue of former grantes, of Mr. Chetham's late donation, and this present dedication; and he shewed alsoe what an abominable and accursed thing it would bee, for any one to alienate or injure it. Hee gave several directions and exhortations to the ffeoffees, to the governor, to the hospitall boyes, and to the people present.

“And then having several tymes sung certain verses selected out of David's psalmes suitable to the occasion, hee (as the other ministers alsoe did) prayed God that gave unto Mr. Chetham both mind and means to doe this great good worke, prayed to God for his blessing on the hospitall, the ffeoffees, the governor, and hospitall boyes, and soe dismissed the assembly.

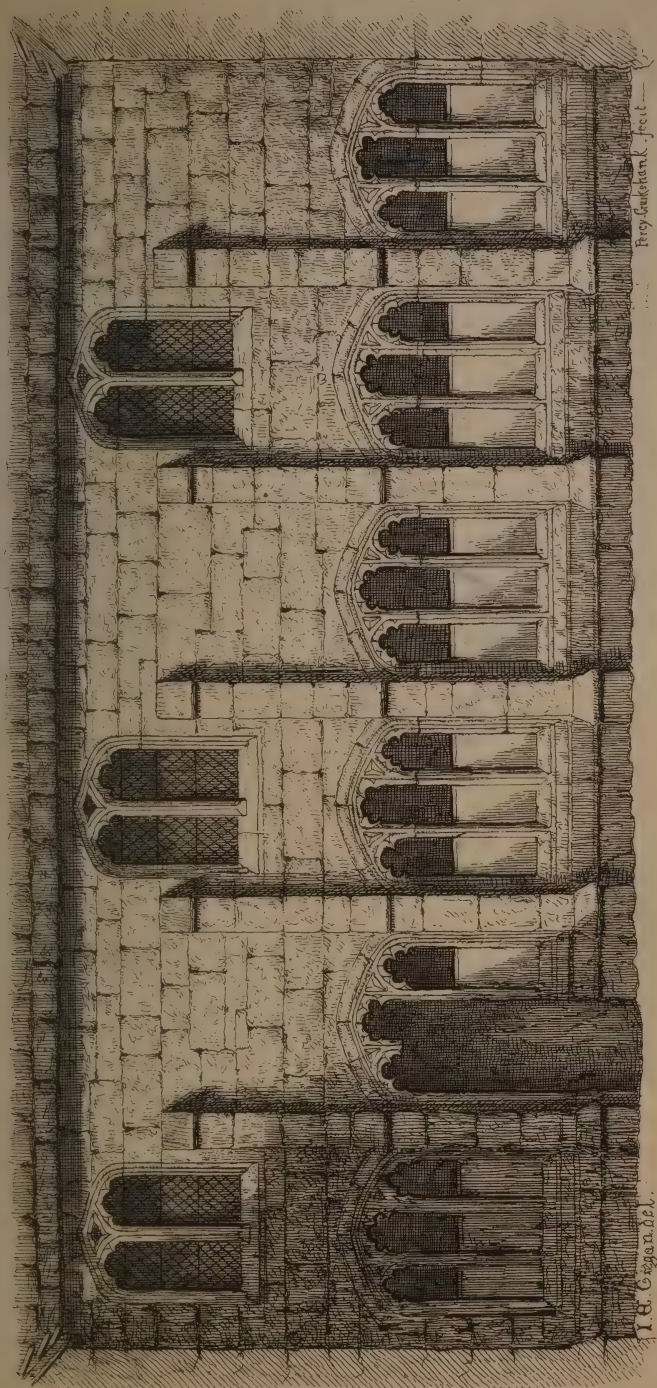
“This day, being the 5th day of August 1656, the hospitall boyes were removed from their severall private quarters, where they had been tabled, into the hospitall and lodged there.”

Few charities have been so well managed as this; for by the skill, integrity, and careful economy of many successive generations of feoffees, the value of the original endowment has been greatly increased; so that instead of forty boys, as at the beginning, there are now no fewer than one hundred continually maintained and educated within the walls of the building, and sent forth into the world in a creditable and respectable manner.

The accompanying ground plan (see Plate xxvi) shews the general arrangement of the buildings; the parts built at different times being indicated by the different tints with which they are shaded. The dark tint distinguishes the original erection of warden Huntingdon's time; the

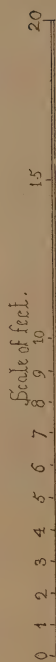
light tint the additions of a subsequent date, probably towards the close of Henry the seventh's reign. A few alterations, of comparatively trifling extent, appear to have been made when the college was converted to its present uses as a hospital; but these have only very slightly affected the appearance of the old collegiate buildings. Indeed few of the ancient architectural monuments of the country have undergone less change than this; for with the exception of the present library, and the rooms occupied as residences by the governor and the librarian, it remains in almost the very condition in which it was left by those for whose convenience it was originally erected.

The most interesting architectural feature of the building is the beautiful little cloister (see Plate xxvii) which extends round three sides of the quadrangle; peculiar from the fact of its being two stories in height; the cloister of St. Stephen's at Westminster being almost the only, if not the only other case in England where a similar arrangement occurs. In one instance or two a *room* is found over a cloister, but scarcely ever one complete cloister over another as it is here. The cloisters belong to the later portion of the edifice, having been added, no doubt, for the purpose of affording a convenient and covered communication between the various offices and apartments of the college. The openings retain evident traces of having been glazed, and in the upper story a window is placed in each alternate bay only. A range of rooms communicating with the upper cloister by separate doorways, and which, in all likelihood, were the dormitories of the clergy, are now thrown into one continuous apartment, forming the library already alluded to. It is noticeable that the original partitions between these dormitories did not go up to the roof, so as to effect a complete separation between them, but were carried up to the level of the wall head only; the angular space, from this level up to the sloping line of the roof timbers, being left open from end to end. This mode of securing privacy to the occupant of each dormitory, and, at the same time, giving him the advantage of the ventilation of a large and roomy apartment, is a refinement generally supposed to belong to modern times; but that such an arrangement existed in the college is evident, not only from the construction of the roof, which



Elevation of West Side of All Saints

All Saints Hospital, Manchester





is continuous, as if over one long room, but also from the fact that similar partitions are yet to be found in other parts of the building : the governor's and librarian's rooms are so divided, the space from the top of the old partitions upwards being filled in with work of comparatively modern date.

The date of the more recent parts of the building (indicated by the light tint on the ground plan), is not exactly known, but from their style they may be referred, as has been said, to the latter part of Henry the seventh's reign. The room now called the audit-room (probably the warden's room, in the days of the college), and the room over it (used as the reading room of the library), are interesting apartments; the former having an oak panelled ceiling of excellent character, and wainscot lining on the walls. The bay window of the reading-room, though small in dimension, is also remarkable for its beauty: it is square in plan, with a three-light window on each side, and a groined ceiling, the central boss of which is carved with the portcullis.

The hall is a well-proportioned apartment, with lofty windows on one side, a dais at the upper end, and a bay-window on the side next the cloister; there is a wide fireplace on the same side, and a massive oak screen across the lower end, concealing the doors to the buttery, the kitchen, and other domestic offices.

Another set of alterations belong to the time when the college buildings were prepared for the purposes to which they are now devoted. The most important was the removal of the partitions between the dormitories, so as to form a long room for the library, which now extends from A to B, of an L shape: with the enlargement of the old dormitory windows, for the better lighting of this room. The staircase at the north-east angle of the cloister seems also to belong to the same period, and was doubtless erected for the purpose of affording to the public convenient access to the library; the original staircase which is near the door of the audit-room, being too remote from the entrance, as well as somewhat too small for the accommodation required. The door into the cloister-yard must have been in the bay now occupied by this new stair, as the only present entrance

is through one of the windows, which has been opened for this purpose; as shewn in the accompanying engraving.

The long line of buildings extending eastward from the kitchen to the gate, consists of various offices, now devoted to the different uses of the hospital. The kitchen, which goes the whole height of the two stories, is of very ample dimensions; and there is one fine room on the upper floor, now used as a dormitory, but still known by the name of the "garner", which is of considerable size and of good character. The roof remains, (as elsewhere throughout the building), in its original condition, and consists of well moulded arch-ribs and collar, springing from a moulded wall-plate.

The college was unfortunately erected with a soft friable sand-stone, from Collyhurst, in the vicinity of Manchester, and many parts of the exterior are consequently much worn by the weather; but as funds become available for the purpose, the feoffees are wisely carrying on a gradual and continual course of repairs, so that no part is ever allowed to fall into decay; and the whole is kept in a sound and perfect condition.

ON THE BARBICAN, IN CONNEXION WITH OUR CASTLES.

BY GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

IF we look into a dictionary for the meaning of the word *barbacan*, or *barbican*, we shall find it called "a narrow opening left in the walls of buildings liable to be overflowed, for the water to come in and go out at, or to drain the water from off a terrace; or an outer defence or fortification to a city; a kind of watch-tower; any outwork at a short distance from the main works; and a cleft made in the walls of a fortress to fire through upon the enemy." We do not from this get a very clear idea of what a barbican really was, and it may be worth while to try and make this more definite.

Grose, in the preface to his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, says, "To begin from without, the first member of an ancient castle was the *barbican*, a watch-tower, for the purpose of descrying an enemy at a greater distance. It seems to have had no positive place, except that it was always an outwork, and frequently advanced beyond the ditch; to which it was then joined by a drawbridge, and formed the entrance into the castle. Barbicans are mentioned in Framlingham and Canterbury castles. For the repairing of this work, a tax called barbecanage was levied on certain lands."

Again, in *Military Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 2, the same writer says, "Next the bayle was the ditch, foss, graff, or mote"—"the passage over it was by a drawbridge, frequently covered by an advanced work called a *barbican*; sometimes the barbican was beyond the ditch covering the head of the drawbridge."

There is a small stonework covering the gate of Bodiam Castle, in Sussex, still called the barbican; and the Walmgate-bar and barbican at York will occur to the recollection of some. At Carlisle Castle, Cumberland, there is also an outer work to defend the gate, which is known as the barbican.

The etymology of the word is doubtful. It has been sought in *barbacana*, low Latin and Spanish; *barbacane*, French; *lock-in-einer-mauer*, German, etc. Spelman, the antiquary, derives it from the Saxon *burgh* and *kenn*, a place to view or ken from.

There is a street in London, near Redcross-street, in Cripplegate, still called "Barbican", from a watch-tower, and where, by the way, Spelman died, in 1640.¹

Camden, in his *Britannia* (published 1586), says, when describing London: "The suburb also which runs out on the north-west side of London is large, and had formerly a watch-tower or military fence, from whence it came to be called by an *Arabick* name—*Barbican*."²

Stow writes of the same place: "On the west side of the Red Cross" (whence Red Cross-street), "is a street called the Barbican, because sometime there stood on the north side thereof a *burgh kenin*, or watch-tower of the

¹ John Milton lived also at one time in Barbican.

² Gibson's translation, 1695, p. 321.

city, called in some language a barbican, as a *bikening* is called a beacon”.

In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, written circa 1440, recently edited by Mr. Way, “barbican” is explained as “byfore a castelle, *antemurale*”. The editor says in a note: “Spelman explains the barbican to be ‘*munimen à fronte castrî, aliter antemurale dictum; etiam foramen in urbium castrorumque mœniis ad tragicienda missilia. Sax. Burgekening. Vox Arabica.*’” Pennant asserts that the Saxons called the barbican to the north-west of Cripplegate, *burgh-kenning*; other writers have suggested a different etymology. A. S. burk-beacn, *urbis specula*. Bullet would derive it from the Celtic, *bar*, before; *bach*, an enclosure. Lye gives barbican as a word adopted in the Anglo-Saxon language, and we must certainly not seek thence its derivation.”

As early as 1232, according to Britton’s *Architectural Dictionary*, we find in a charter, “*Antemurali qui dicitur barbacana, qui est murus brevis ante murum nostri orti.*”

Spenser, in the *Faerie Queene* (b. ii), has—

“Within the *barbican* a porter sate,
Day and night duly keeping watch and ward;”

And Ben Jonson uses the term in his *Epithalimion*,—

“That far all-seeing eye could soon espy
What kind of waking man He had so highly set, and in what *barbican*.”

An anonymous writer of the time of Henry V, in the British Museum, quoted by sir (then Mr.) Harris Nicolas, in his *History of the Battle of Agincourt* (1415), describing the fortifications of Harfleur, says: “before the entrance of each of the three gates, the prudence of the enemy had erected a strong defence, which we term a *barbican*, but commonly called bulwarks: that towards the king was the strongest and largest, being defended without with round thick trees, nearly to the height of the walls of the town, fastened around, bound, and girded together very strongly. * * * * The structure of it was round, containing more in diameter than the cast of a stone, with which our common people in England are wont to amuse themselves by the road-side: water of great depth and breadth surrounded it, being about two lances’ length

broad in the narrowest part, having a bridge for ingress and egress towards the town."

And Lydgate has in his *Story of Thebes*,—

"And made, also, by werkmen that were trew,
Barbicans and bulwerkes, strong and new,
 Barreres, chains, and ditches wonder deepe,
 Making his auow the city for to keepe."

The extracts I have quoted refer to the barbican mainly as a watch-tower or outwork of defence, and this is the idea which generally attaches to it. In a letter, however, addressed (June 1837) to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Planché, on a curious portrait supposed to represent Charles the Bold, but which he ingeniously showed was his brother Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, Mr. Planché pointed out what he thought was a representation of a barbican of different appearance. He had identified the portrait by an engraving in Montfaucon's *Monarchie Française*, which showed also Anthony's badge and war-cry. Montfaucon described the badge as *une espèce de Pavillon* (a sort of tent or flag), surrounded by flames, and the motto "*Nul ne si frote*". On the back of the picture in question was found what Montfaucon had thus described (see fig. 1), but which there had the appearance of being composed of planks of wood, with fire coming through the centre. Mr. Planché

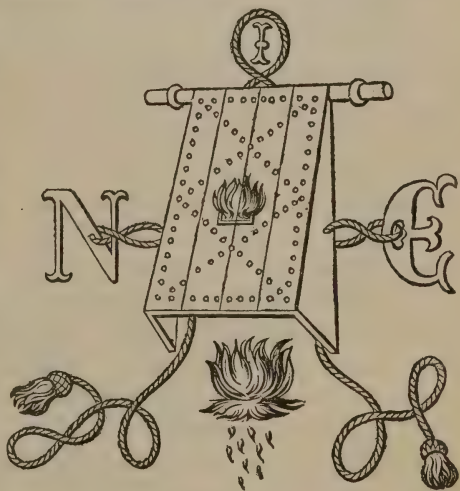


Fig. 1.

found that Oliver de la Marche says, that at the siege of Oudenarde, A.D. 1452, Anthony bore a great white standard embroidered with a *barbacan*; and at the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, sixteen years afterwards, the same author describes him as issuing from his pavilion, on a horse trapped with tawny velvet, embroidered with large

barbacanes, with flames issuing out of them, and letters of his device, all worked in gold thread. Remembering that barbican was explained by Roquefort to mean not only a tower, but a loop-hole, and any sort of outwork; and that Cotgrave, under the same word, says—"Some hold it to be a scutrie, scout-house, or hole"; he suggested it as probable that the figure before us was intended to represent, not a tent, but the barbican described by Oliver de la Marche, with flames coming through the centre. Mr. Planché afterwards went to the ruins of the castle of Tournehem, in Artois, the residence of Anthony, and there he found the same badge on various portions of the building, notice of which he communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, with the accompanying cuts (figs. 2, 3, and 4).¹

There can, I think, be no doubt of the correctness of the supposition, that Montfaucon evidently did not understand the bridge he described; for it is much more like a pent-house of wood to protect an opening in castle walls than a tent or flag. Figure 5 is a drawing of a movable tower of the fifteenth century, from a manuscript in the British Museum, which shows, in the upper part of it, just such an arrangement as a protection for archers, and illustrates what were really understood as barbicans in early times. Other instances, however, can be adduced. There is an exceedingly interesting illuminated manuscript, in three volumes, preserved in the British Museum, written in French prose by Robert de Borron and Walter Mapes,² and which was made known to the general reader by Mr. Wright, in the first volume of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 301. The date of it is probably 1316. Some of the illuminations in this show, as will be seen by the annexed copy of one of them (fig. 6), these barbicans exactly like the badge of Anthony of Burgundy.

In all the cases, too, that I observed when looking through the manuscript, these penthouses are on the outermost work and over the gateway, so that I think we may say these were really the original barbicans, and that afterwards the name took a wider significance in England, and came to express also the outer work, either of wood or stone, to

¹ The Association are indebted to Magazine for the use of the cuts re-ferred to the proprietors of the "Gentleman's Magazine".

² Additional MSS., Nos. 10,292, 10,293, and 10,294.

which they would have been attached. Abroad, however, it was less so. Florio, in his *Italian Dictionary*, 1598, explains *barbacane* to mean only “an out-nooke, or corner, standing out of a house; a jettie”; and a jetty, in medieval



Fig. 6.

buildings, we know was a part of a building that projected beyond the rest, and overhung the wall below. The projection of an upper floor beyond the lower, which we see in old houses, was called a jetty. The only meaning given by Roquefort, in his *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Françoise*, is “Fente perpendiculaire pour l’écoulement des eaux; ouverture pour tirer sur l’ennemi sans se découvrir”; and in any ordinary French dictionary the only translation of the word *barbacane* is, “a hole made in a wall from space to space, thereby to drain the water; also a loop-hole in a wall to shoot through.” This view is further borne out by a translation of Grosteste’s “*Chateau d’Amour*”, in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century,¹ wherein a castle is described, and which goes on thus:—

“This castil is ever ful of love and of grace,
To al that any nede has socour and solace,

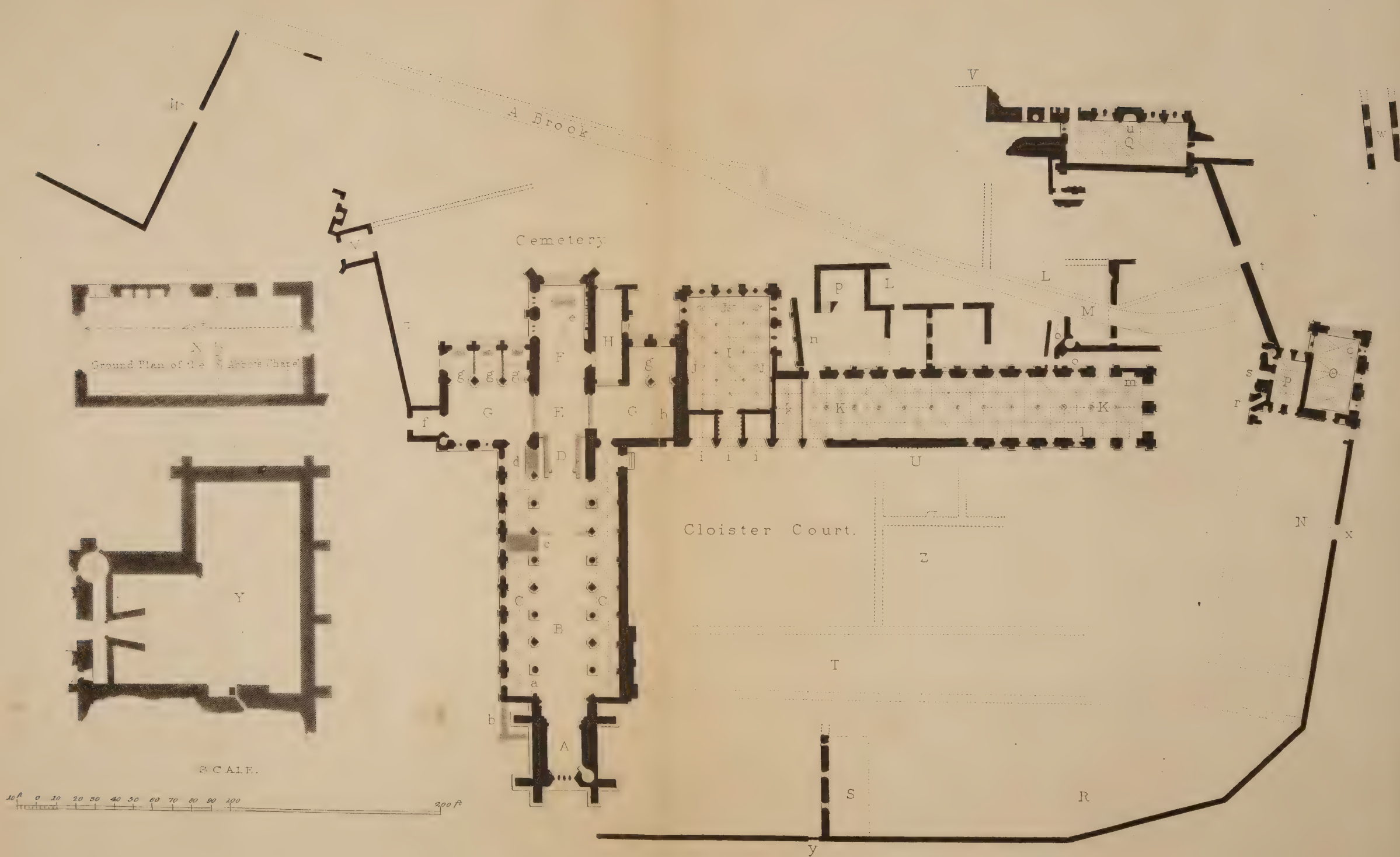
¹ MS. Bibl. Egerton, in Mus. Brit., No. 928, as quoted in “Archæological Journal”, *ut supra*.

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PLAN OF FURNESS ABBEY.

To face page 302.

Four toures ay hit has, and kernels fair,
 Thre bailliees al aboute, that may nogt apair ;
 Nouthert hert may wele thinke ne tung may wel telle,
 Al the bounté and the bewté of this ilk castelle.
 Seven *barbicans* are sette so sekirly aboute,
 That no maner of shoting may greve fro withoute."

A description which evidently refers to such pent-house defences as I have described, and not to watchtowers or outer works.

I will simply add, that the manuscript from which the illustration No. 6 is taken, contains many curious illustrations of the architecture of the period, as well as of its manners, and deserves further examination.

Fig. 7 represents a buttress, from the seal of William de Botereaux (Bysshe's *Notes on Upton*, page 57), in which the barbican appears to be a portion of the building.



Fig. 7.

ON THE RUINS OF THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, IN FURNESS.

BY E. SHARPE, ESQ., M.A.

"Oppida Franciscus,—magnas Ignatius urbes,—
 Bernardus valles,—montes Benedictus amabat."

It is probable that there are many persons present here this morning whose acquaintance with the architecture of their native country is very limited. Indeed, it would not be surprising if a considerable majority of those who compose this meeting, and who may from accidental circumstances have been induced to join the congress of this Association on the present occasion, possess but a slight knowledge of the subject.

Now it is always a difficult matter for a lecturer so to

frame his observations as to render them at the same time interesting and intelligible to the whole of his audience; it is always a question with him, whether, on the one hand, addressing himself to the more learned portion of his hearers, he should make the immediate object of his remarks a means of advancing the study of the whole subject; or whether, on the other hand, he should, addressing himself to the unlearned portion of his auditory, and discussing it in a more popular manner, make use of the opportunity as a means of enlisting their sympathies, and of enlarging thereby the number of those who take interest in the study.

I propose on the present occasion to pursue the latter course; and instead of entering at once into a critical discussion on the architectural merits of Furness Abbey, in terms which would be all but unintelligible to the greater part of my audience, I propose to preface my remarks on these interesting buildings by a short account of the different periods into which the history of our national architecture may be divided, and then to point out to which of these periods the several portions of these ruins respectively belong. And I cannot help thinking, that by thus enabling the uninitiated practically to illustrate for themselves, by means of these buildings, a certain portion of the whole subject, I shall be doing more real service to the study of archæology, than if I were simply to confine myself to a historical account of the foundation of Furness Abbey, of its possessions, and dependencies; or enter into a merely technical description of its different buildings.

There is another point in which these buildings may be made instructive to us: I mean, that which relates to their arrangement, their relative disposition, and their respective uses.

Indeed, a most interesting lesson may be read by the light which such a series of buildings is calculated to throw on the monastic life of the middle ages, and the peculiarities which distinguished the conventual arrangements of the different orders of these times. I propose, therefore, after having explained the principal divisions of English architecture, to give a short account of the ordinary plan of a Cistercian monastery; and I will then review the whole of the buildings of Furness Abbey in

succession,—explaining, in the one case, to which of the several periods of our national architecture each part respectively belongs; and pointing out, in the second place, what portions of the general plan of a Cistercian abbey are preserved to us in the example before us, and what was the probable nature and extent of those which have been destroyed.

CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.

The history of English architecture may be divided into seven distinct periods,—the duration of which was as follows:—

	A.D.	A.D.	YEARS.
Saxon period, from	—	to 1066,	prevailed —
Norman	„	1066 to 1145,	„ 79
Transitional	„	1145 to 1190,	„ 45
Lancet	„	1190 to 1245,	„ 55
Geometrical	„	1245 to 1315,	„ 70
Curvilinear	„	1315 to 1360,	„ 45
Rectilinear	„	1360 to 1550,	„ 190

Of these seven periods, the remains of the first are so few, and left in such a fragmental condition, that its comparative illustration is impossible. Of the remaining six, the following may be said to be the principal characteristics:—

II. The NORMAN PERIOD is distinguished by the use of the circular arch in every part of a building.

III. THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD exhibits the contemporaneous use of both circular and pointed arches in the same building.

IV. THE LANCET PERIOD is characterized by its windows, which were invariably of the lancet form, whether used singly, or in groups of two, three, five, or seven.

V. The GEOMETRICAL PERIOD is distinguished also by its windows, which carry tracery in their heads, in which simple curves only are employed, and the circle usually predominates.

VI. The CURVILINEAR PERIOD exhibits tracery in its window heads of a flowing character, in which the sinuous curve of contra-flexure usually predominates.

VII. The RECTILINEAR PERIOD is remarkable for the

introduction of straight lines, both vertical and horizontal, in the tracery of its windows and in panelings.¹

Of these seven periods, the remains of Furness Abbey furnish us with very interesting and excellent examples of the *third*, the TRANSITIONAL PERIOD; the *fourth*, the LANCET PERIOD; the *fifth*, the GEOMETRICAL PERIOD; and the *seventh*, the RECTILINEAR PERIOD; which shall all be noted in their proper place.

CHARACTER OF CISTERCIAN ARCHITECTURE.

It is not unnatural to suppose, that, differing as the several monastic orders did in their habits and modes of life, some indications of this difference should find their way into the architecture of their buildings. It is many years since my attention was first directed to what appeared to be the peculiarities in the architecture of the churches of the Cistercian order of monks; and having subsequently had opportunities of visiting a considerable number of the abbeys of that order, both abroad and in England, I was enabled to come to the conclusion that a uniformity in the design of the buildings of that order prevailed throughout Europe, which, if it was not the result of positive regulation, was, to say the least of it, very remarkable, and worthy of record.

As the value of any such discovery would appear to be materially enhanced by the further discovery of any documentary evidence bearing upon the point, I spared no pains in obtaining access to the early chronicles and records of the Cistercian order. In the course of this inquiry, rendered less easy from the difficulty of meeting with any of the authentic histories of the order in this country, I ascertained the important fact, that the rules which were drawn up by the early Cistercian abbots, in the infancy of their order, and which were enlarged and confirmed at subsequent, but still early periods, contained directions relating, not only to the discipline and mode of life to be followed within the walls, but also the choice of site, and to the architecture and form of their buildings, as well as

¹ For a further description of the Seven Periods of English Architecture, see "The Architecture", by E. Sharpe, M.A.

to the degree and nature of their ornaments and internal decoration.

As the whole of these directions are borne out and confirmed by all the examples with which I am acquainted, as there appears indeed to be scarcely a single case in which a variation from these rules occurred within the first two centuries of the existence of the order, I conceive that so interesting a fact, established, as it would appear to be, by the concurrent testimony afforded by the internal evidence of the buildings themselves, and the external evidence of contemporaneous historical record, and unnoticed, as I believe it hitherto to have been, is worthy of particular mention and illustration.

This is not the time and place for entering into the proof of what I have asserted; but as Furness Abbey corresponds, in many of these particulars, with all the other large abbeys of this order, I will mention a few of them.

And first as regards the site of a Cistercian abbey.

It was ordained that they should never be built in towns, or even in hamlets; but in secluded valleys, remote from the haunts of men.

All who remember the sites of any of our principal Cistercian abbeys, will notice how strictly this rule is complied with: they generally lie high up the valley, often in the narrowest part; and it appears to have been the practice of the monks usually to clear out the bottom of the valley for pasturage and cultivation, leaving the sides clothed with wood.

This rule is most stringently complied with in France and Germany; and although, in England, situations of this kind would be in some parts difficult to meet with, yet I know of no instance in which it has been absolutely departed from, or the valley deserted for the high land.

Next as regards the church.

They prohibited everything that had a vaunting ambitious character. Thus towers, which abounded in the abbey churches of the Benedictines, were eschewed by the Cistercians. They permitted indeed a low tower, at the intersection of the arms of the cross, or over the crossing, as it was called, rising one stage above the building; but nowhere else: and the tower we now see at the west end of Furness Abbey church stands, like that at the end of the north

transept of Fountains, a monument of the degeneracy, so to speak, of the order; and an example of their departure, in the sixteenth century, from the rules they had laid down and observed in the twelfth and thirteenth.

The churches were invariably dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and to her alone. They were nearly all uniform in plan, built, without exception, in the form of the cross; having nave, with side aisles, north and south transepts, and choir; and having also three small chapels, forming a sort of eastern aisle to the transepts, but separated from one another commonly by a partition wall.

I now come to a very important point of their regulations: they permitted no sculptures of figures, or of the human form,—no images,—no carvings, save that of the crucifix,—no pictures,—no gold ornaments,—no stained glass, that is to say, of a pictorial character,—and no prostration in their churches. Now, although the period in which the whole of these rules were strictly carried out was possibly short, yet there is not one of their churches of early date upon which great severity of treatment is not plainly stamped; and I have searched in vain for such sculptures as are here prohibited in any of the Cistercian churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whilst contemporaneous buildings of Benedictine origin abound with such carvings. Take, for example, the nearly contemporaneous buildings of Rievaulx and Whitby, situated within some thirty miles of one another: in the one you will find grotesque figure-heads and a profusion of carved ornament; in the other, extreme simplicity in these respects, numerous elegant mouldings, but no sculpture, no heads, no figures.

So also, in the church of Furness Abbey, you will find an almost entire absence of sculptured ornament, and the effect made dependent upon excellent proportion and purity of design, along with great niceties of detail.

So far as regards the church. The conventual buildings were laid out with the same regularity and uniformity: of these the principal were—1. The CHAPTER HOUSE; where all the business of the convent was transacted. 2. The COMMON REFECTORY and day room of the monks. 3. The KITCHENS. 4. The PRINCIPAL REFECTORY. 5. The HOSPITIUM or GUEST HOUSE. These were the most important

buildings of a Cistercian monastery. There were also many others of minor importance, as well as some of more pretension, such as the Abbot's Lodge, which varied much in their position; but the above mentioned buildings were almost invariably disposed round the quadrangle of the cloisters, in certain fixed situations, so that we always know where to look for them in a ruined convent.

FURNESS ABBEY.

The abbey of St. Mary in Furness was founded in the year of our Lord 1127, and was an affiliation of the abbey of Savigny in France; which abbey, in the year 1148, with all its dependent establishments, adopted the Cistercian rule, at a general chapter of the latter order, held in that year at the abbey of Citraux. Of the monasteries of this order in England, Furness is recorded to have been second only to the abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire: and the remains that are left fully justify this account.

SITE. The principal approach to the abbey was originally from the north, along the winding valley of Nightshade,—the level bottom of which has been cleared out for cultivation,—while sheltering woods cover the sides; on nearing the precincts, it is impossible not to be struck with the truly Cistercian character of the approach and site. The valley gradually closes in,—the opposite woods approach,—its narrowest part is reached; and there, in the very gorge of the valley, hedged in between the vertical rocks of red sandstone (whence the buildings were quarried), on the one side, and the steep woody banks rising abruptly from the very base course of the buildings on the other, stands Furness Abbey; sunk so entirely beneath the surface of the surrounding country, that its highest walls are invisible; and exhibiting the most perfect picture of humility and repose. This, at least, was its condition a few years ago, before the red mine and the railway changed the face of this retired district, and opened out new sources of wealth and employment to its inhabitants: and whilst we cannot help lamenting the inroad which the latter innovation has made upon the former appearance of this interesting valley, we must not forget that we owe our visit here to-day to the facilities which it offers, and which

have been rendered available to thousands, to whom this interesting spot would otherwise have been inaccessible.

What may have been the nature and extent of the buildings originally erected by the monks, on the foundation of the convent, it is difficult to conjecture, for no vestiges of them remain; probably they were, as in many other similar cases, only temporary, or at all events small and insignificant: certainly, however, of those which at present exist, none can be said to be of an earlier date than the commencement of the abbacy of John Cantefield, who presided over the convent from the year 1152 to the year 1175.

Of these, the first in point of importance, and with one exception perhaps in point of date, is

I. THE CONVENTUAL CHURCH. After the foundation of a convent, some time usually and naturally elapsed before the proper steps could be taken,—the grants confirmed,—the designs matured,—and the funds collected, for commencing a work of this importance; indeed, in most cases, these preliminary preparations appear to have consumed almost as much time as the building of the church itself. We have no account of the ceremony, either of the founding or consecration of the church; but judging entirely from the style of the work, it is probable that it could not have been commenced before the year of our Lord 1160. In this case it belongs to the latter part of the earlier half of the TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, and seems to have been entirely completed in every part—although subsequently altered—according to the original design.

We have, therefore, in this building, a consistent, and very nearly perfect example of this, the third period of our national architecture, which exhibits most of the principal characteristics, not only of the period, but of the order to which it belongs. I say very nearly perfect; for although the greater part of the piers, and the whole of the arches, and the main walls of the nave are gone, yet indications and data of this part of the building, and actual types in other parts, remain sufficient to indicate to us the nature of that which has been destroyed, and to enable us, by the help of that analogy, derived from other buildings similar in size and date, to restore, with the exception of the east and west fronts, the entire design, and the original appear-

ance of every part of this once magnificent monument of the twelfth century.

On reference to the plan (Plate xxviii), it will be seen that the construction in the fifteenth century of the west tower (A), has caused the entire obliteration of the west front of the nave, which originally extended one compartment further to the west than it now does; a small portion of the wall of the north aisle (b) being left, to indicate, as it were, its original extent.

Towards the east, again, the enlargement of the choir in the same century, and probably by the same abbot, has destroyed all vestiges of its original termination in this direction. The construction of the chapel (H) on the north side of the choir, the porch (f) covering the north doorway; and the buttresses to the west crossing piers at (D)(D), have been the only other alteration of the original plan. With these exceptions, and the insertion of later windows, in different parts of the walls, we have before us the perfect plan of the original conventual church. We perceive at once that the design has been formed after the true Cistercian type, and in exact correspondence with those of its sister abbeys of Rievaulx, Fountains, and Kirkstall, of nearly contemporaneous date.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. II.

CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF RANULF II, EARL OF CHESTER.

(Vide pp. 131-138 ante.)

IN nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Sanctorum prisca auctoritate patrum qui in nomine Patris et Filii et spiritus sancti in sancta ecclesia regiminis gubernacula hactenus tenuerunt quique suos adjutores sancte que ecclesie fundatores sua nobis industria suorumque scriptorum longa tradicionem cognitos reddiderunt admoneri videmur ut ea que a temporaneis nostris in Sancte ecclesie matris exaltatione facta sunt presentibus

per nos manifestentur posterisque dinoscenda nobis scribentibus, reserventur Nos igitur majorum imitantes exempla jam quedam pietatis opera referamus quæ in Anglica terra gesta sunt a Hugone Cestrensi comite anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo tercio regnante potentissimo rege Wulkelmo atque in archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi pontificante Anselmo atque in Eboriacensi pontificante volumus vero ut religiosi atque fideles Christiani cognoscant quia idcirco nobis ista describere placuit ut qui ea relegerint vel audierint dum supplicabili affectu pro sancte ecclesie fundatorum salute implorent et ut presentes ad regna celestia tendentes etiam inter etatis hujus primates quos sequantur inveniant. Igitur ad laudem et gloriam summe et individue Trinitatis atque incomprehensibilis divinitatis, jam preferamus quod nos dicere spondimus. Hugo Cestrensis comes atque ermentrudis cometissa devotioni religiose pia mente subditi piissimaque Dei visitatione inspirati in quadam ecclesia que constructa est in honore Sancte Werburge virginis in civitate Cestre monachos religiose viventes posuerunt. concedente rege Wulkelmo que dum assidue exorarent tam pro utilitate anime regis Wulkelmi et Wulkelmi patris ejus nobilissimi regis et matris ejus Mathildis regine fratrumque et sororum ejus atque regis Eduuardi quam pro animarum suarum salute et pro animabus patrum et matrum et antecessorum heredumque et parentum et baronum suorum omniumque Christianorum tam vivorum quam defunctorum. Huic vero ecclesie Sancte Uuerburge Hugo supradictus comes et ermentrudis cometissa possessiones priores liberas in perpetuum et quietas concesserunt et de suis augmentaverunt habitationique monachorum abilem reddiderunt eamque abbatiam nulli omnino abbacie subditam fecerunt postea in ea monachos et abbatem Deo donante et supradicto rege Wulkelmo concedente constituerunt. Hanc etiam et quicquid ad eam pertinet abbati et monachis dederunt. Videlicet Ynes Saltonem. Suttonam. Ceveleiam. Huntitonam. Bostonam. Ueneuam. Chrostonam. Trochfort. Clistonam. Estoriam. Vuisdeleth. Hodesleiam. Weupram. et demidiam Rabbi. et terciam partem de Nestima. et terciam partem de Salhala, et terciam partem de Staneia et dimidiam partem de Leche et unam carruscam terre ad Pulforth. et terciam partem de Burewardesleia. et Edinchale. et Sotewica. In super etiam dederunt huic ecclesie in ipsa civitate de suo dominio vicum a porta de North usque ad ecclesiam. et locum unius molendini ad pontem civitatis et duo maneria in Angliis unum autem in Ros. unum in Wirhalle erberiam. Et in Lindesei terram decem boum et post obitum comitis vel cometisse Westonam cum appendiciis suis in Debbesraa (?) Et rectam decimam de piscatorio Etone. Et omnium que ei pertinent et decimam de Frodesham de molendino de piscatoria et de pullis equarum et de Weverham et de Ufre, et de Lech. et de Roceestra et de Haurdina, et de Colesul, et Bissopestred et de Uppetuna de Estham. et de Campedene. et decimam piscatoriarum de Ruelent. et decimam Angliis de dominio suo. etiam de navibus. Ecclesiam et ter-

ram ecclesie et decimam de dominio de Danefort. et de molendinis Horum omnium supradictorum maneriorum rectam decimam in omnibus dederunt in pullis, in vitulis, in ovibus, in porcis, in lana, in caseis et in aliis rebus que decimari debent. Domini Westune ermentrudis comissa jussa comitis Hugonis posuit super altare coram domno Anselmo archiepiscopo Cantuarie et baronibus suis Ea die sesierunt sanctam Werburgam de Nuestona per decimam ejusdem Nuestone et per ecclesiam et terram ecclesie Estone et per terram unino carruce quam tunc presenter exhibuerunt. reliquam vero partem omnem liberam et quietam in elemosina semper in posterum post discessum illius qui prius obiret concesserunt. Quin etiam baronibus suis concesserunt ut unusquisque post obitum suum rectam partem omnis substantie sue prefate abbacie daret. et centum solidatas terre. aliis autem secundum posse suum. Teste reverendo domino Anselmo archiepiscopo. Herveio epo Balduino monacho. Rodberto filio Hugonis. Willelmo constabulario. Willelmo Malbanc. Ranulpho Dapifero. Radulfo Dapifero. Hugone filio Osberti. Ricardo Banastro. Hamane de Maceio. Gilleberto de Venables. Ricardo de Vernon. Ricardo de Rullos. Bigod des Loges. Ranulfo Venatore. aliisque quam plurimis Willelmus Malbeench dedit huic abbacie Sancte Werburge vviteberiam et terciam partem vveupre et ecclesiam et decimam de Tatenala et terram duobus bobus et decimam de Salchale et de claituna et de Yraduc. Teste cometissa. Ricardo Banaste. Hugone Osberti filio. Bigod des loges Ricardo Pincernario et Sirardo Rodbertus filius Hugonis capellam Cristentune et terram capelle et terram cujusdam rustici ipsumque rusticum et quoddam molendinum terramque ipsius molendini et chotam Ordrici ipsum Ordricum et quendam campum junctum huic cote et crya et quandam salinam in Fuleuvic et duas masuras in civitate et paululum terre juxta Bochtunestan. Hoc donum concessit Hugo comes. Teste Wullelmo Nigelli filio et fratre ejus Ricardo. Ranulfo Dapifero. Bigod. Hamuone de Maceio. Hugone Osberti filio Hugone Normanni filio Fulcone de Bavinvilla. Unfrido de Costentin; Hugo filius Normanni et Radulfus frater ejus partem suam de Lostoch et eulesia de Cotituna et terram ecclesie et decimam et de Lay. Teste Wullelmo Malbeench multisque aliis. Ricardus de Vernon decimam estone et Pichetone Ricardus de Rullos. ecclesiam et decimam Winveretone et Hottone et Clotone et molendini Clotone. Billeheld uxor Baldrici perfortunam. Teste Normanno de arrecio multisque aliis. Radulfus venator terram trium carrucarum in Brochetuna. Hugo de Mara reddeclinam concedente comite. Teste cometissa. Willelmo Nigelli filio multisque aliis. Nigellus de Burceio decimam de Stortuna et de Gravesbyri et quartam partem de Gravesbyri tam de luco quam de plano. Teste Garatim fratre ejus. Ricardo de Rullos. Willelmo filio Huberti. Gisleberto de Blayne. Radulfus Ermuini filius et uxor ejus claricia terram in adecerce ad octo boves et decimam de Bertestona in Wurhale et de Verulestane in Wicesfeld et de

equabus suis ubicunque sint Feste Godefrido mercatore et Nigello multisque aliis Rodbertus de Tremonz Tidelvstan. Teste Rannulfo fratre suo Rodberto Dapifero. Wascelenus nepos Walterii de Vernon quendam agricolam et terram quatuor boum in Nessa et decimam de Prestona et terciam partem tocius substantie sue; et uxoris ejus. Teste Gisleberto Wulmaro Archidiacono. Sirard capellam de Bedintone et terram quatuor boum et decimam illius manerii et decimam de Bromhale et de Waleie et de Maynes et de Westone et de Wille. et post obitum omnem substantie sue et uxoris sue de cestresyra et de manuis. Teste Willelmo Conestabulario. Hugone Osberti filio et Wimundo de Col. Ricardus de Mesnilwarin decimam de Blachenoth de Annona de piscatoria et de omnibus de quibus decima debet clari. Teste Rogero fratre suo et Rannulfo de Beurrello et Rannulfo de Walebruno. Rannulfus filius Goselini concessit decimam suam sicut pater suus dedit eam. Rodbertus Putrel terram unius carruce a Maclesfeld. Teste Waleranno de Baro. et multis aliis. Walterus de Vernon decimam equarum suarum. Comes nanim unam cum decem retibus ad piscandum in Anglisi imperpetuum liberam et quietam. Ad festum Sancte Werburge in estate concessit feiriam trium dierum. Teste cometissa Willelmo Pincerna. Hugo Camerario Willelmo Malbeenc. Ricardo Banastro.

TESTIMONIUM ANSELMI ARCHIEPISCOPI.

Decet quemque Christianum de his que ad honorem Dei in futurum stabilia esse decerni presens audivit testimonium perhibere ne aliquis dum minus amans ea possit quavis occasione in sequenti tempore pervertendo mutare. Unde ego Anselmus gratia Dei Sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie Archiepiscopatus testimonium fero quod quando Hugo Cestrensis comes posuit monachos in ecclesia Sancte Werburge concessit et confirmavit ut eadem ecclesia et omnes res ejus quos habebat et quos ipse vel homines sui tunc dederunt vel postmodum darent ita libere essent et quiete Atheloneis et omnibus operibus et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus ut Nichil meis sibi aliquam tenus retinuerit Statuit etiam ut homines ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentes nulli pro qualibet causa nisi domino Ricardo quem de abbazia beccensi monachum unde ego tunc abbas eram rogatus ab ipso comite abbatem ibi fieri concessi et successoribus ejus respondeant depnebendis autem canonicorum constituit ipsis concedentibus et me et Rodberto episcopo et baronibus suis testibus ut post discessum uniuscunque eorum prebende eorum libere sine ulla contradictione in dominium monachorum ad usum eorum venirent siquis autem aliquid horum infringere voluerit anathema sit et cum Juda traditore Domini per hemiter dampnetur et cum Symone Mago et demonibus in inferno crucietur Post obitum Hugonis comitis. Ricardus comes filius ejus dedit pro anima illius Deo et Sancte Werburge terram Ulfriki propositi foris portam de North et molendinum

de Beche et tres mansuras quietas et pacatas duas in civitate et unam extra murum. Teste Willelmo Conestabulario. Waltero Devernona. Radulfo Dapifero et aliis multis Willelmus Constabularius dedit Neutonam. Teste Radulfo Dapifero et aliis multis. Hugo Malbeench dedit unam salinam in Wico suo. Teste Adalria matre sua. Ricardo de Praeres. et Gutha. et aliis multis. Hugo filius Normanni dedit Gosetro et Lantonam. Teste Hugone de Lacis. et Rogero filius Normanni et Sirardo. et aliis multis. Ricardus de Praieres dedit Cuoctyrum. Teste Willelmo et Adam filiis suis et Lamberto. Corbin dedit unam carrucam terre in Wirwella Roes uxor Pigoti et Hamundus de Maci dederunt Norwedynam et ecclesiam cum omnibus que ei pertinent concedentibus et testibus filiis eorum. Rogerus de Mannilvuarum dedit Plumleyam cum Widone filio suo. Teste Willelmo Ranulfo filiis suis. Ricardus Pincerna dedit ecclesiam Sancti Olafi et duas mansuras in civitate. Ranulfus Venator dedit Bradefort et unum Salinam in Norhtwich concessu Ricardi comitis et Hugonis de Verre. Bourel dedit ecclesiam de Haliewelle et decimam suam et de molidino suo. Herbertus Wombasarius dedit terram quatuor boum in Hole. Rogerus de Sancto Martino dedit terram duorum boum in Bebintona. Willelmus de Punterleya dedit Butavari cum omnibus apendiciis suis id est ecclesia et totam manerium solidum et quietum et silvam Lestone ad rogum faciendum et ad commune usum domestici operis concessu. Herberti filii sui et Alveredi domini sui et Ricardi Comitis. Teste Willelmo Constabulario Ricardo Banastro Willelmo Pincerna et aliis multis. Hugo de Vernon unam mansuram in testra solidam et quietam. Rannulfus comes nepos Hugonis Comitis dedit Uppetunam cum omnibus appendiciis suis, et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus solidam et quietam pro anima Hugonis avunculi sui et pro anima sua et uxoris sue Lucie et pro Rannulfo filio suo; et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum suorum concessu Rannulfi filii sui Teste Willelmo fratre ejus Willelmo Constabulario. Rodberto Dapifero Warino Banastro. Hugone filio Osberni. Osberto filio Hugonis et aliis multis. Willelmus Meschinus dedit Deo et Sancte Werburge ecclesiam de Dissart. Concessu Rannulfi filii sui. Teste Willelmo clerico de Ruelent. Willelmo Flandrensi Willelmo Pincerna. Matheo de Ruelent. Ricardo filio Berlei; et aliis multis. Mattheus de Ruelent dedit ecclesiam de Thurstanestona cum omnibus que ad eam pertinent. Teste Rodberto de Petra Ponti. Rodberto Banastro. Ricardo filio Berley. Hugo filius Osberti dedit unam mansuram in testra, et unum pratum quod vocatur Kingeshie. Suein dedit duas bovatas in Wetenhala concedentibus filiis suis. Ricardus de Cruce dedit unam mansuram in cestra et Morsetonam. Willelmus de Muhald Deo et sancte Werburge de Lay dedit pro anima sua et parentum suorum. Teste Hugone Malbeenc. Ricardo Pagarno et aliis multis qui affuerunt. Leticia de Malpas dedit Deo et Sancte Werberge parvam

Cristentonam et Bechiam et unam mansuram in civitate. Teste et concedente domino suo Ricardo, et fratre suo Ricardo Mailardo. Rodberto Grefesac. Nigello Chaldel, et aliis multis. Sweinus Faber dedit unam mansuram ante ecclesiam Sancte Werburge. Hugo filius Osberti dedit alteram juxta illam pro dimidia Wereburtuna. Willelmus filius Andree dedit cum Andrea filio suo Deo et Sancte Werburge magnam sopam scilicet inter domum Winebaldi vicecomitis et Hamundi Utredus Walensis dedit unam mansuram cum croplitis liberam et quietam ab omni re. In nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Ego secundus Rannulfus comes Cestrie concedo et confirmo has omnes donationes quas mei antecessores vel barones eorum dederunt, dans etiam ex meo proprio dono pro salute anime mee parentumque meorum decimum denarium universi redditus mei de civitate et de omni pisce qui capitur in aqua dede. Ad huc concedo Deo et Sancte Werburge ut loges mercatorum fiant ante portas monachorum ita quod monachi accipiant inde redditus percipiens super meum forisfactum ne aliquis emat vel vendat aliquid in mundinis Sancte Werburge nisi ibi. Do etiam ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Castello et duas mansuras ante portas monasterii, unam scilicet Hugonis presbiteri que vocatur le Leure, et alteram Suargari pelliparii et terram. Conague de Chel. Et decimam molendinorum meorum de Cestrasiria. Teste Roberto Dapifero. Normanno de Verd. Rob. Banaster. Gileberto le Venables. Willelmo Malbanc. Willelmo filio Dunecan. Chatwaladro rege Nortwaliarum. Willelmo de Manulnuriem. Roberto de Maci et Simon frater ejus, et Roberto filio Picod et aliis multis. Robertus de Maci et Simon frater ejus dederunt Deo et Sancte Werburge, octo bovatas in Bacfort cum omnibus rebus illis bovatis pertinentibus solutas et quietas ab omni servicio et ab omni re. Simon filius Willelmi dedit decimam molendini sui de Bretebi Testibus et concedentibus filius suis et Hugone de Petra ponte. Alanus de Vilers dedit Deo et Sancte Werburge litegade cum omnibus rebus eidem ville pertinentibus solutam et quietam ab omni servicio et omni re.

Teste Ricardo Pincenna, et Ricardo Firun, et Willelmo filio Duning. Et sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego junior. Rannulfus comes Cestrie tum pro utilitate et honore ecclesie tum pro abbatis et monachorum fratrum nostrorum prece tum quod maximum est pro salute anime mee. Confirmo et corrobore mea autoritate et meo sigillo quecumque continentur in hac carta, scilicet omnes donationes quas mei antecessores comites et barones vel milites; vel Burgensis, dederunt Deo et Sancte Werburge et hanc confirmationem in cesauris ecclesie in testimonium posteris repono. Et precor amicos et precipio super fidem mihi debitam meo heredi omnibusque meis ominibus tam futuris quam presentibus quatinus hec omnia tam mea quam antiquorum dona sint stabilia, integra et rata et ita ab omni re et consuetudine libera sola et quieta. Ut nichil libertatis nec in placitis

nec in consuetudinibus vel in aliquibus rebus possit eis addi ulterius. Valete. Valeant omnes fideles in Christo.

[*This concluding Charter is in a later hand.*]

Ledb. Dei gratia Cantuar. Archiepiscopus et tocius Angliæ primas. Omnibus sancte ecclesie fidelibus, salutem. Noverint universitas presentium et futurorum quam abbatiam Sancte Werburge Cestrie quam Comes Hugo Cestrensis et Ermentrudis comitessa uxor sua in honorem Dei et Sancte Werburge construxerit et omnes possessiones quas servuli Christi monachi qui in ejusdem Beate Werburge ecclesia divinis sunt obsequiis mancupati juste et canonice ex predicti com. et comitis donatione sive aliorum principum largitione seu fidelium quorumcumque oblatione in presentiarum possideret sive in futuro canonice adipisci poterunt confirmavimus et presentis scripti munimine corroboramus. Hoc adiutis et suum opere monentes libertates quas sanctissime memorie Beatus Anselmus venerabilis pater et predecessor noster prefate ecclesie scripto suo confirmavit. Stabiles permanere et a nullo diminutionem aut conturbationem sustinere. Si quis igitur patris nostri predicti Beati Anselmi confirmationem aut nostrum ausu temerario infestare aut irritare attemptaverit Dei et nostre subiaceat maledictioni. Conservantibus autem et predictorum monachorum bona augmentibus Dei benedictionem et nostram et vitam eternam optamus. Vale.

ON THE RESIGNATION OF THE KINGDOM OF MAN TO THE POPE, A.D. 1219.

BY PATRICK CHALMERS, ESQ., F.S.A.

HAVING recently had under my notice some documents which appear to supply a new fact in the history of the bishopric of Man and the Isles,—viz., the subjection of that see to the archbishop of Dublin as its metropolitan,—I proposed to myself the pleasure of laying them before the British Archæological Association. Before doing this, however, I wished to try to reconcile some of the conflicting dates and statements with which one meets in the histories of this see; but to do this, requires a reference to authorities that I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting with sufficient care; and some of which indeed, I have not yet been able to see.

The remarks which accompany these papers will there-

fore tend rather to elicit discussion than to give information. As the resignation of the sovereignty of the Isle of Man into the hands of the pope in 1219, to be held thereafter of the holy see, is well known, I shall subjoin only the names of the witnesses, which, I believe, have not hitherto been printed. The other documents, of which I send copies, are letters of pope Honorius III, addressed to the bishop of Carlisle, and the bishop elect of Norwich, legate of the apostolic see, touching the consecration and admission to the episcopate of the successor to Nicholas, bishop of Man, who died in 1217. The initial of the bishop consecrated, is not given in the transcript made from the register in the Vatican, and, perhaps, had not been inserted in the register,—an apparent omission of frequent occurrence, and especially unfortunate in this instance, since there seems to have been a rival presentation, and, perhaps, an attempt to set aside the capitular right of election of bishops of Man and the Isles, granted to the monks of Furnes by Olaf, son of Godred, and confirmed by his son Godred, son of Olaf.

At this period (1219), Reginald, the usurper, was king of Man, and his half-brother, Olaf the Black, king of the Isles. Olaf had presented Nicholas, abbot of Furnes, to the archbishop of York, for consecration, as bishop of the Isles, about 1203 (*Ann. Furn.*, p. 169); and Nicholas probably also procured a like presentation from Reginald, as king of Man. The two kings may also have concurred in presenting their nephew Reginald to the archbishop of York, as successor to Nicholas; while the chapter of Furnes may have elected some other person as bishop; and this may account for the pope's letter to his commissioners, to give effect to the election of the chapter, followed, as it had been, by consecration by the archbishop of Dublin. But it is to be observed, that the commission speaks of the presentation to this prelate, "*metropolitanum loci*", as if he were the true metropolitan; not "*tanquam*", or "*pro hac vice*", as the style would probably have run, had he been substituted only for a time; neither does it appear, that he had given consecration in his character of legate (*legatus natus*). Reginald, however, held the bishopric until his death, about 1226. At this time, a bishop John appears, who is not very satisfactorily accounted for, and

may have been the former elect of the chapter of Furnes, whose right, or claim, may have been in abeyance during Reginald's tenure of the dignity.

The right of metropolitan jurisdiction over the see of the Isles, if such right existed in early times in any particular see, appears to have changed hands frequently, and to have been fertile of disputes. That, in the early stages of its existence, the bishops of this see were consecrated by those of Dublin or Armagh, is highly consistent with probability; and, perhaps, the letters of pope Honorius may imply a recognition of an ancient metropolitan right: but it is clear that both York and Trondhjem were in use to consecrate the bishops of the Isles in after times; and the fact of the earliest Östman bishops of Dublin having been consecrated by archbishops of Canterbury may account for the resort of bishops of the Isles to other sees for consecration during the pagan occupancy of Dublin. Olaf, king of Man, 1102-1142, who gave to the abbey of Furnes, as is known, "*Episcopalis electionis dignitatem, set et totius juris mei Christianitatis observantiam, salva semper sedis apostolicæ reverentia*", sent the bishop then elected to Thurstan, archbishop of York, for consecration. In 1120, Malcolm III, king of Scots, restored the bishopric of Whithorn (*Candidæ Casæ*), separating it from the see of the Isles, in which it had become merged during the Scandinavian invasions. In 1154, the archbishopric of Trondhjem (*Ecclesia Nidarosiensis*) was constituted, by pope Anastasius IV, and the see of the Isles made suffragan to it; which arrangement was confirmed, in 1253, by pope Innocent IV. (*Dip. Norv.*) But, in 1244, the monks of Furnes seem to have protested against this, and to have asserted their right to elect the bishop of the Isles, and to send him to the archbishop of York for consecration. The pope, Innocent IV, authorizes the archbishop of York to consecrate the bishops-elect of Man, but with consent of the archbishop of Trondhjem. (*Dip. Norv.*) In 1247, Laurence, archdeacon of Man, went to Norway for consecration by the archbishop of Trondhjem, and to obtain his presentation from Harald, king of Man, then at the court of Hakon, king of Norway; but Harald refused the presentation until he should ascertain that the election had been properly made. An attempt seems to have been made at this time

to take the election out of the hands of the chapter of Furnes. In 1266, when the sovereignty of Man was transferred to Alexander III, king of Scots, the patronage of the bishopric of Man was conveyed along with it, saving such rights as the church of Trondhjem (*Ecclesia Nidarosiensis*) might have of jurisdiction over it; but nothing is said of the rights of Furnes. (*Chron. Man.*) In 1275, Alexander presents Mark of Galloway, bishop-elect of Man, to the archbishop of Trondhjem for consecration. (*Ibid.*) In 1348, William Russell, abbot of Ruffin, was consecrated bishop of the Isles, by pope Clement VI, at Avignon. He was probably elected by the chapter of Furnes. It is likely that, both before and after this consecration, some of the bishops of the Isles had been consecrated by Scottish bishops; perhaps irregularly: but, in 1472, St. Andrew's was erected into an archbishopric, and the sees of Orkney and of the Isles were, with others, assigned to it as suffragans. The archbishop of Trondhjem protested in respect of Orkney, but seems to have made no claim of jurisdiction over the see of the Isles. (*Dip. Norv.*)

The question whether Man and the Isles constituted one bishopric has occasioned much discussion, and is yet, perhaps, undecided; but it seems to be clear, from the words of Jocelin, in his life of St. Patrick (by whom there is no good reason to doubt that the see was founded), that German was set over the Isles as well as over Man.

“Renavigans Hiberniam ad insulas maris convertendas divertit: e quibus Euboniam, id est, Manniam, tunc quidem Britanniae subjectam, salutari prædicatione ac signorum exhibitione ad Christum convertit. (I omit a miracle.) Quendam discipulorum ejus virum sanctum et sapientem, Germanum nominatum, in Episcopum promotum illius gentis Ecclesiae novellæ regendæ preposuit: et in quodam promontorio, quod adhuc Insula Patricii dicitur (eo quod ipse ibidem aliquantulum demorabatur) Episcopalem sedem posuit. Aliis autem Insulis ad fidem Christi conversis; singulis singulos aut etiam plures præfecit præsules de discipulis suis, sicque Hiberniam repetiit.”

The distinction between “Episcopum” and “Præsu-lem” is certainly clearly made here. The styles of bishop of Man, bishop of the Isles, or bishop of Man and the Isles, seem to have been used indifferently, from the earliest times, to denote the same see. The foundation of a separate bishopric of the Isles by churchmen of Iona, if ever

made, must, as in the case of the annexation of Candida Casa, be attributed to exceptional disturbing causes. Any separation or division of the see, "Manniae et Insularum Södorensium" (down to the final one), seems to have been but temporary, and unauthorized by any sufficient ecclesiastical authority.

Train's *History of Man* contains a very full list of the bishops of the Isles; and so far as I have been able to test it, it seems to be pretty well vouched, though there are, almost necessarily, occasional errors of date. It does not appear by whom Bernard de Linton, abbot of Arbroath and chancellor of Scotland, was elected, nor by whom consecrated; his election occurred about 1328.

Names of Witnesses present at Resignation of the Kingdom of Man to the Pope by Reginald, King of Man. 1219.

Et in hujus rei testimonium has litteras patentes fieri fecimus, hiis testibus. C. Bagoreñ. Episcopo de Wallia (blank) Officiali de (blank) Johanne Clerico. Juone filio Zollwed. Magistro Juone, Zolano Senescallo domini Regis de Man. Supplicamus autem Sanctitati vestre, quod privilegium illud et petitionem, quam aliis Regibus censualibus et Vassallis ecclesie Romane conceditis nobis mittat Sanctitas uestra. Nos enim parati sumus omnia prædicta secundum mandatum uestrum seruare. Interfuerunt autem huic nostre donationi de familia domini Legati, Magister Petrus de Collemede, domini Pape Cappellanus, Magister Ardingus papieñ. eiusdem domini Subdiaconus, Magister Petrus de Babert, Magister Jacobus Scriptor (Scriptor?) domini Pape, presbiter Lucas de Wýtsande domini Legati Cappellanus, Pandulfus nepos ipsius domini Legati, Thesaurarius Cices-treñ. Magister Johannes de Venafro, Stephanus nepos domini Stephani Basilice duodecim Apostolorum presbiteri cardinalis, Martinus Cices-treñ. Senescallus domini Legati, Contardus clericus domini Gregorii de Crescentio Sancti Theodori diaconus Cardinalis, Rusticus et Johannes de London Scriptor domini. Actum Londoñ. in domo militie Templi xº. Kalendas Octobris, anno domini Mº. cc. xixº. Et ne super hiis aliquis possit dubitare has litteras fieri fecimus, et sigillo nostro muniri.—*Monumenta Historica Britannica.* Add^l. MSS. Brit Mus. Vol. ii.

*Honorius Episcopus, etc. Episcopo Karleolensi et P. Norwicensi
Electo Camerario nostro Apostolice Sedis Legato.*

Anno iv, epist. 608.

Venerabilis frater noster, Episcopus Insularum in nostra proposuit præsencia constitutus, quod bone memorie. N. Insularum Episcopo, præde-



cessore suo, viam universe carnis ingresso, dilecti filii conuentus de Furnesio, ad quos Insularum Episcopi electio pertinebat conuenientes in unum, inuocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, ipsum in Episcopum Insularum unanimiter et concorditer elegerunt, ac ipsum cum decreto electionis confirmandum ad venerabilem fratrem nostrum Dublinensis Archiepiscopum Metropolitanum loci, Legatum Sedis Apostolice transmiserunt per suas litteras humiliter supplicantes ut electione confirmata ipsius impenderet munus consecrationis eidem, qui examinata electione pariter et Electo, cum ei de ydoneitate persone ipsius, ac electione canonica constitisset, electionem confirmauit eandem sibi munus consecrationis impendens, ac eum ad Episcopatum Insularum cum litteris destinauit, dans Prioribus, Abbatibus, Archidiaconis, et uniuerso Clero Insulane diocesis in mandatis, ut eum tamquam patrem et pastorem animarum suarum recipientes humiliter et deuote, honorem et obedientiam sibi debitam exhiberent. Princeps autem terre ipsius, et quidam alii diocesis¹ Insulani non attendentes quod laicis quamuis religiosis super ecclesiis, vel personis ecclesiasticis nulla est attributa potestas, quos obsequendi manet necessitas, non auctoritas imperandi, ut eum impedirent quominus possessionem ipsius Episcopatus obtinere valeret ne ipsum reciperent Clero prohibuere prefato, alias² sibi et ecclesie sue dampna gravia et iniurias irrogando. Quia vero fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum gravamen indebitum conniuentibus oculis pertransire nec volumus nec debemus, discretionis uestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus prefatum Principem et alios ut presumptione huiusmodi desistentes, nullatenus per se uel per alios impediant quominus predictus Episcopus episcopatus sui pacifica ualeat possessione gaudere, competenter satisfaciens sibi de dampnis et iniuriis irrogatis, moneatis prudenter, et efficaciter inducatis, et si necesse fuerit, ipsos ad hoc per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione remota compellatis. Non obstante constitutione concilii generalis, qua cauetur nequis ultra duas dietas extra suam diocesim ad iudicium trahi possit. Datum Viterbii v. Idus Novembris, Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Anno iv, epist. 608, pag. 141v°. Ex Registro Bullarum. Honorius III.

Episcopo Karleolin. et P. Norwicen. Electo Camerario nostro Apostolice Sedis Legato.

Venerabilis frater noster Episcopus Insularum in nostra presentia constitutus quod bo: me: N. Insularum Episcopo predecessore suo viam uniuerse carnis ingresso etc., as in other deed with some slight verbal differences, not affecting the substance.

Datum Viterbii v. Idus Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno quarto (1219.)

¹ "deuoti", in other deed.

² "alios", in other deed.

Honorius, etc., illustri Regi Manie. Anno VII, epist. 76.

Ad hec Rex regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, a quo tibi concessa temporalem debes recognoscere potestatem, ad Regni te solium sublimavit. ut ecclesias et loca religiosa per tuum regnum existentia diligas, et honores. munificentie tue manum eis tam liberaliter quam ylariter porrigendo, et alia in eis pietatis opera exhibendo. Cum igitur sicut nostris est auribus intimatum quedam ecclesie Regni tui, quarum omnium es patronus, non habere terram liberam asserantur, Serenitatem tuam rogamus. monemus. hortamur attente quatinus, cum indecens omnimodis videatur. ut ecclesie memorate competenti dote penitus sint expertes, ipsorum cuilibet saltem triginta passus terre iuxta canonicas sanctiones in liberam elimosinam extra cimeterium a parte qualibet earundem ad domos clericorum faciendas ibidem liberaliter largiaris, ut eedem pro te teneantur Dei misericordiam implorare, ut semper sit ubicumque ambulaueris ipse tecum, suamque tibi concedat gratiam in presenti, et gloriam in futuro. Datum Laterani XIII. Kalendas Februarii, Anno septimo.—(Hist^l. year, A D. 1223).

Monumenta Historica Britannica ex autographis Romanorum Pontificum deprompta. Add^l. MSS. Brit. Mus.

British Archaeological Association.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

MANCHESTER AND LANCASTER.—1850.

AUGUST 19TH TO 24TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19, 1850.

THE General Committee met at the Town Hall, Manchester, to make arrangements for the day; they then proceeded to the Cathedral and attended Divine Service, after which the members and visitors inspected the edifice, preparatory to attending Mr. Ashpitel's discourse.

The General Meeting was held at the Town Hall at three o'clock, P.M., when the President, JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., delivered an address, of which the following is an outline:—

The President stated that one object of the Association was to blend amusement with instruction; and that, in his opinion, it could not be uninteresting to the inhabitants of a large commercial town like Manchester, to look back into past history, and trace the vestiges of the British race in former periods of time. We might go back first to the aboriginal inhabitants, who had left to us their old camps, like that known as the Herefordshire beacon, near Malvern, showing the skill and power they possessed. Next, we find the remains of an elegant and refined race, the Romans—and there were traces of art found in pottery, in metals, and in other remains, which showed that they were a people almost as highly refined as ourselves, and that arts and manufactures had greatly advanced amongst them. Afterwards came the Anglo-Saxon period, when there was a ruder state of society, the principal characteristics of which were the freedom of their manners, and the popular power which they possessed. Then we come to a period always interesting to the historical inquirer, that of the Normans and chivalry; which was succeeded by an extension of ecclesiastical power, so great, as to gain the possession of a large portion of England, and which raised such a feeling on the subject of the power which it possessed, that it led ultimately to the Reformation. He did not know any period at which the inhabitants of Lancashire came forward in a distinct manner before the time of chivalry. He first found traces of them as a distinct race in the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Flodden Field, where the Lancashire bowmen much distinguished themselves; and from this time he considered might be dated the foundation of the Lancashire race. The present inhabitants of the city of Manchester were perhaps one of the most mixed races in any part of the empire, congregated as they had been from Scotland, and Ireland, and from Germany, Italy, and other foreign countries. The next period of considerable interest in the history of Lancashire was the Puritan period, and they owed great obligations to

the Chetham Society for the researches they had made and the works they had published, respecting that period. He considered that the Puritans were as brave a race in their way, as the Lancashire bowmen had been in another line before them. We might trace onward the history of Lancashire until a totally different period, when the commercial interest arose, when, as Mr. Cobden (he thought) had said, men changed their swords into shuttles; and the same sort of competition was now maintained in weaving and in the arts and manufactures, which formerly went on with swords and with lances. Until of late years, the science of archæology had not been attended to in England in the manner it had been on the continent. He considered it a very great advantage which the Germans, and particularly the Prussians, had enjoyed in having a minister at the court of Rome. M. Niebuhr especially refers, in the dedication of his *History of Rome* to the late king of Prussia, to the advantages which he had gained from his long residence there, and the archæological researches there carried on. Niebuhr certainly was, in his lifetime, at the head of his profession; and his history was in point of fact the re-writing of the history of that interesting country. His secretary and pupil was the chevalier Bunsen, now the Prussian minister at St. James's. The chevalier formerly gave great attention to Roman antiquities; and latterly, in a period of leisure, he had given his time to the subject of the antiquities of Egypt. After much study, he had recently brought out a work which traced more clearly than any other in existence, the immense antiquity of Egypt. He carried back his researches to a period three or four thousand years before Christ, and he proved that the Egyptians had had a regular line of kings for at least three thousand years of that period. This was such an entire change of our pre-conceived notions, and we must in consequence give so much longer a period to the duration of the human race on the earth, than we had been in the habit of doing, that he (the president) thought we should need to have our chronology re-written. No discoveries in archæology had, in fact, been more surprising than those of Bunsen and Wilkinson, with regard to the immense antiquity of Egypt. We owed a great deal to our English writers for bringing forward in England in a popular shape, what had been done in Germany; Arnold had made Niebuhr's Roman discoveries popular with us in a way which they never could have been in this country without his assistance, so that we repaid the debt we owed to Germany, by bringing forward the researches of her writers in a more popular and tangible shape. We are also much indebted to the arts of wood engraving and lithography in making archæology popular, by supplying such beautiful illustrations with which archæologists may illustrate their papers. The Society of Antiquaries had great difficulty one hundred years ago, in establishing itself; but now there was so much attention paid to archæology, that there was room in this country for two separate societies—one the

Archæological Association, and the other the Archæological Institute. They belonged to the Association; but most of the members wished—and he certainly joined with them—that they should, if possible, endeavour to bring about a union of the two. He believed the researches of each would be found equally valuable—they had each, among their members, distinguished men who had exerted themselves to a great extent, and many of the individual members of each had given up a great portion of their time to antiquarian research—on Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains, as well as on those of a modern date. Many admirable papers had been read to each body, and the only cause of regret was that the two societies should not meet in the same place and work harmoniously together. He would be very happy himself to do everything in his power to bring about such a union. The interests of the societies appeared identical, and he did not see why the differences which existed might not be referred to arbitration.

After referring to the arrangements for the week, the president said he had not himself done much in the way of archæological research. The line he had taken was one which archæologists had not generally taken,—researches into old statutes and laws of Oxford and Cambridge, of which he had made a pretty large collection. The archæology which was more popular and more capable of illustration was the subject of the remains of manufactures and arts of a former period. A museum had been commenced at the Mechanics' Institution, by the kindness of Mr. Langton, Mr. Pettigrew, and others, who had sent valuable specimens; and he had no doubt it would be visited with interest. He hoped that the result of the meeting would be an increased attention to antiquities in Lancashire. He did not know that we ought to say that we would form a separate society for the promotion of this subject; but he had not forgotten that, in old times, archæology had received very valuable assistance from the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. In the time of the first president, Dr. Percival, there were several papers on archæological subjects. In 1792, one was read, "On the cairns of Scotland"; in 1823, Mr. R. Greg read one, "On the round towers of Ireland"; Mr. William Greg, on his return from Greece, read papers on Mycene and Sardis; and Mr. Just had read others on the Roman roads in this neighbourhood. His own opinion was, that the best plan would be to form an archæological department in connexion with the Literary and Philosophical Society. He was not anxious to see the number of societies in the neighbourhood increased; and he even thought that if they were reduced by amalgamation, it would be for the benefit of science and literature; because, the larger the body could be without being unwieldy, the more advantageous it was for the objects which it pursued. He knew that many of the inhabitants of the county were taking considerable interest in the subject; and he believed

that the result of the meeting would be, that more would be known about the antiquities of Lancashire than had been known before.

The President then introduced A. Ashpitel, esq. to the meeting, who delivered a discourse on the History and Architecture of the Cathedral.—See pp. 177-198 *ante*.

In the evening, the Association assembled in the theatre of the Mechanics' Institution, the President in the chair; when a paper was read "On the Study of Archæology, and the particular objects of the British Archæological Association", by T. J. Pettigrew, esq., Vice-President and Treasurer (see pp. 163-177 *ante*). In reference to the notice respecting the want of a Museum of British Antiquities, contained in the paper, the President observed that he had just received a letter, by which it appeared that it was in contemplation to establish a Museum for the reception of British Antiquities at the University of Oxford.

J. R. Planché, esq., Honorary Secretary, then read a paper "On the Stanley Crest".—See pp. 191-209 *ante*.

Thomas Heywood, esq., F.S.A., expressed the pleasure he felt in hearing Mr. Planché's excellent essay. The subject was interesting to the Lancashire antiquaries, and would now particularly occupy their attention. Bishop Stanley's poem gave the received family tradition as to the origin of the crest. Of that poem there were two old copies, differing materially, and a modern version, of the time of James I, by a person at Chester. Mr. Halliwell had rendered a great benefit to the county, by printing, for the first time, the bishop's verses in the Palatine Anthology; but the variation in the old copies deserved more notice than they had received in his book. In carrying back this device of the eagle and child to a period antecedent to the use of crests, and proving it to be an ancient charge on the coats of arms of more than one Lancashire family, Mr. Planché had greatly assisted the inquiry, and certainly shown the legend of Oskatell Latham to be a myth. The various ingenious suggestions he had made, towards accounting for so singular a crest, would be carefully examined, and probably, at some future period, the device would be traced to its origin. In the meantime, in the name of the Lancashire antiquaries, Mr. Heywood moved the best thanks of the meeting to Mr. Planché, for his valuable essay.

The rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A., of Newcastle-on-Tyne, then delivered a lecture "On the Structure of the Norman Fortress in England."—See pp. 209-228 *ante*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20.

The Association proceeded to inspect the antiquities of Whalley and Ribchester, previous to their arrival in the evening at Lancaster. At Whalley they were received by the rev. Mr. Whitaker, son of the historian

of that place, together with Mr. Taylor, the proprietor of the grounds ; and the particulars relating to the locality and its antiquities were pointed out. The whole of this once magnificent monastic building covered a space of from five to six acres, and was erected for a brotherhood of Cistercians, who first settled at Birkenhead, but who, finding the situation unhealthy, had petitioned Henry de Lacy, their patron, for a new location, and obtained a grant of this beautiful sequestered spot in the twelfth century. The building occupied nearly three hundred years in its erection, and appeared to have been built in the earlier and later decorated English styles of architecture. It was approached on the western and eastern sides by splendid gateways, which are perhaps in a better state of preservation than almost any other parts of the abbey. It appeared to have consisted of a quadrangle, having a spacious conventual chapel on the east ; the buildings devoted to the use of the monks, with refectory, cloisters, and dormitories, on the north ; the abbot's residence on the south ; and a corn-mill belonging to the abbey (the course of the stream for which is still existing between the building and the river) on the west. The roofs and upper floors of all these portions of the abbey are gone ; but several of the walls remain almost entire—especially those opening to the cloisters—with beautiful specimens of the Gothic arch, both in windows and doorways, in good preservation. Mr. Whitaker pointed out the position of the great conventual chapel of the abbey, and the spot where stood its high altar, the position of which was determined a few years ago by his father, who dug down to the tombs of the abbots (known to have been buried there), and which had not been disturbed. This chapel, he supposes, from the remains which have been discovered of its interior carvings and fittings, to have been very magnificent ; and thinks that if excavations were made in the earth now covering its floor, many interesting fragments might be recovered. The site of its kitchen and offices is now a kitchen garden. A curious old stone staircase, which had been hid in the thickness of the wall at the west end of the abbey, with concealed doorway, and terminating in a large stone flag at the bottom, attracted much attention, but whether it was a place of punishment, or of concealment, can only be a matter of conjecture. The grounds in immediate connexion with the abbey were about thirty-six acres in extent. After inspecting various portions with much care, for nearly two hours, the members took a hasty view of Whalley church, a building of yet more ancient date than the abbey, and in a fine state of preservation. There are some fine carvings in black polished oak in some old pews near the altar, consisting of groups of figures and quaint devices, similar to some of the grotesque carving in the chapel of New College, Oxford, and other old ecclesiastical edifices, but mostly conveying some useful, though not always very obvious moral. One of these is a blacksmith shoeing a goose, and another is a woman striking at a man's head with a ladle. The chancel is

a fine specimen of the early English style of architecture, and contains some old screen work from the abbey. In the churchyard are several stone crosses, curiously ornamented and carved, and of a very old date. These are figured in Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, and are considered as belonging to the Saxon period.

From Whalley the members proceeded to Ribchester, where excavations had been previously made, by Mr. Just and Mr. Harland. This was formerly a Roman station, as its name denotes, and one of the strongest holds which that people established in this part of the country. (For particulars respecting Ribchester and the antiquities exhibited, see the paper by Mr. Just and Mr. Harland, pp. 229-251 *ante*.)

Having quitted Ribchester, the party proceeded to Lancaster, where a meeting was held at the Music Hall, kindly provided for the accommodation of the Association by E. Sharpe, esq., M.A.

J. R. Planché, esq. read a paper "On the Badges of the House of Lancaster", which will appear in the next *Journal*. A paper was also read on the History of Witchcraft; but as it did not contain any matter of archæological interest, and has already appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, is not necessary to be further particularized.

The meeting terminated by the reading of a short paper, by George Godwin, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., "On the Barbican, in connexion with our Castles".—See pp. 302-309 *ante*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21.

By the admirable arrangements made by the Local Committee at Lancaster, a portion of the Association were enabled, early in the morning, to visit the village of Heysham, and inspect some very remarkable and ancient tomb-stones, and view the graves there hewn within the rock. Drawings of these have been taken, and are referred for future consideration. The greater number of the members and a large party of Lancaster friends assembled at Poulton le Sands, where they embarked by steamer for Piel Castle and Furness Abbey. The former, however, could only be seen from the water, the tide not admitting of the party effecting a landing. It is now a mere skeleton of the ancient building, which was built in the fourteenth century, by the abbots of Furness, as a refuge during the border contests. Having reached Piel pier, a special train conveyed the members and visitors to Furness, where, after a discourse from E. Sharpe, esq., on the Abbey (see pp. 309-317 *ante*), a minute examination of the magnificent remains was made.

Returning to Lancaster in the evening, though at a late hour, a meeting was held, the President in the chair. A short paper on the Antiquities of Furness generally, by W. D. Haggard, esq., was read; a paper on the

Vestigia Vetusta de Pilling, by the rev. R. Bannister; and another on the *History of Ancient Lancaster*, by Dr. James Johnson.

The rev. Mr. Bannister's communication was as follows:—"We naturally wish, on becoming the inhabitants of a new locality, to learn who have been the occupiers of the soil before ourselves,—to investigate their customs and habits, as well as to inspect the works they have left behind them. And no parish is so barren in the productions either of nature or of art as not to contain something to attract an inquisitive mind. Great battles may not have been fought therein, or barons have ruled with feudal sway, yet we meet with some traces of antiquity or some feature in geology worthy of record.

"The extensive section of the country called Pilling has hitherto escaped the notice which it deserves. The Grange, or Peel, now Pilling Hall, whence it derives its name,—its vast moss, which has given birth to the saying, 'God's grace and Pilling moss are endless',—its ancient churchyard, and tombs on the sea beach,—the fact that the hay of the district was granted to Cockersand abbey by its second founder, Theobald Walter or Butler,—that 'does' were found wild on the moss until a late period;—but more especially its geology,—unique path across the morass, denominated 'Kate's Pad',—and almost innumerable horns of the red deer deposited in the soil beneath the clay,—a fresh-water subsidence and peat,—all invite the attention of the geologist and palæontologist, antiquary, and historian.

"Its geology is remarkable. At a remote period it evidently was an estuary of the Lune, and probably also of the Wyre; but when the waters of the sea commenced their retreat we do not pretend to guess. That, however, they receded gradually, in the same manner as they do at present, is evident, from the ridges or sea beaches, and deep layers of cockle-shells in the interior, as well as the retiring of the channel of the Lune farther and farther from the shore. The hollow of this ancient bay consists of a deep deposit of a clayey nature, tinged with blue; then a fresh-water subsidence, in which are found the stools and trunks of trees, their roots being flattened by the hardness or uncongenial nature of the clay; and then, above this, a deep bed of turbary. Now we invariably find the horns and bones of the red deer lying in a silty deposit, beneath this bluish clay and peat. But how came they there? Were they indigenous? They are the same as the red deer of Scotland, and may have wandered from that country along the ridge of the English Apennines, or, dying on these heights, been washed by the mountain flood into the Lune and Wyre, and so carried into the hollows of the Pilling and Thornton marshes, etc. One thing, however, is worthy of remark, that these horns and bones are not found in Marton moss, which was not washed by the sea, but are continually found where the sea once held its domain; and the heads of the legh have been

taken out of the low bed of the brook Dow, under Kirkham Hill, which was formerly washed by the overflowings of the river Ribble, and was the site of the metropolis of the British and Roman *Setantii*. Again, it may be asked, at what period did the red deer range this district. It must have been before the planting of the Pilling Forest, and long before its destruction, which a Scottish author on subterranean forests ascribes to Severus, when he was harassed by the lurkers therein on his march to Caledonia; but was more probably owing, at least that part of it more distant from the shore, to the winds of heaven and the moisture of the soil, because they lie in the silt beneath the bluish clay, under the peat. Early was the period therefore at which these red deer existed; yet might they not be coeval with the Britons who made the pavement or platform of blue boulders, which, lying beneath the bluish clay, and on a level with a great collection of horns, skulls, and bones, were discovered, within the last ten years, in the immediate vicinity of each other. The architects of this pavement must, however, have been the fathers of the Britons who wielded this celt which I here exhibit, and of the brazen spear-head, which were dug out of the peat, in the neighbourhood of the remains of the red deer and pavement. How altered is the face of the country of these times,—the surface of the moss has greatly sunk, the water having been drained off by Broadfleet and other deep ‘dykes’, by which Pilling was recognized in ancient song in the days of chivalry. The agriculturists also of the present day have not been backward; and what was once a pathless morass is now waving with cornfields, and good highways cross it from every quarter. This brings me to what I wish particularly to direct your attention to, although it must be in a very cursory manner, viz., to give you some account of a singular pathway of wood across Rawcliffe and Pilling Mosses, designated by the country people under the names of ‘Danes or Kates Pad’. It consists of a barrow bridge of rudely riven oak trees, all of them being literally scooped out like a spout by long usage. These planks lie on cross-sleepers, and are alternately pegged down through the sleepers, in the centre of a twelve feet deposit of peat. The ‘Pad’ commences at Hailes Hall, and runs in the direction of Pilling Hall. Many persons suppose it to be Danish, from its traditional name of ‘Danes Pad’, although much weight must not be laid on this: every thing curious is here ascribed to the Danes, probably in remembrance of their constant inroads to the interior from the foreland of the Fylde, and from its connexion with Hailes Hall, viz., ‘Ailsa’, a Danish chieftain in those parts. It must, say they, have been formed at an early period, on account of the great quantity of huge trees expended in its construction. Others say it is Roman, and name some brazen instruments discovered along its line as a proof, which they fancy is strengthened by a Scottish writer on mosses having described a similar one as Roman. Indeed, since it is now agreed that the Wyre

must have been the Setantian port, during the sway in Britain of that great nation ; and four hundred denarii of Severus, Geta, Caracalla, etc., have been found in the silt under the sand at Fleetwood : this 'Kates Pad' may possibly have been a vicinal road to Lancaster by Ashton, where Roman statuary have been discovered,—a road leading into the agger, that ran from Preston, by Garstang, to Lancaster. Now if its date be so early, it may have derived its appellation from cath ; therefore 'Kates Pad' will be the war path, and cath, cad, and cath, all synonymous, are compounds in the names of many places in the line of the Roman causeway that runs from Ribchester, from Cadley Moor, by Kirkham and Preston, to the Wyre. Or, if you choose, you may derive the cognomen 'Kates Pad' from coet, cat, signifying a wood,—therefore it will be Wood Path. A third party are desirous to bring it down to a more recent date ; and proofs are not wanting to strengthen this opinion. This portion of the country, as well as nearly all the parish of Poulton, formerly belonged to the church. Now we read in the records of the first Edwards, that Adam de Bannister had many quarrels with the monks of St. Mary's Lancaster, on account of his debarring them the right of roads to their granges through his demesnes. After a long struggle between this turbulent baron and the monks, it was agreed that a passage should be allowed through his lands of Singleton, Poulton, and Rossall by the Aldwath, viz., the Shard Hambleton, and another by the ford of Bulk, opposite to Hailes Hall, near the commencement of 'Kates Pad'. Was this the communication of these monks with Lancaster ? Indeed they could not pass this morass without such an expedient, unless by taking a very wide circuit. That this wooden pathway was a road to Lancaster, an ancient tradition of the origin of the 'Pad' testifies. I pretend not to explain why this singular and great work was constructed ; to others I must leave the solving of the enigma ; only I will add, that as the inhabitants of this quarter held intimate connexion with Cockersand abbey, paying to it the tithes of Pilling, rents, etc., and probably frequenting it for religious purposes, as well as to inter their friends within its sacred precincts, seeing that many grants are made "cum corpore meo", may we not conjecture with probability, that, for these reasons, with many others, the dwellers on this side of the Moss constructed, with the aid of the monks (and spurred on by enthusiasm), this pathway, which, from its singular formation, its huge riven oak planks, and the quaggy ground over which it has been carried, is the admiration of every antiquary."

Dr. Johnson's paper on ancient Lancaster commenced with a description of the old northern province of Brigantia ; contrasting the tactics of Agricola in the subjugation of this province, with the ill success of a different line of tactics employed by Cyrus and Darius in their unfortunate efforts against the old Seythians ; and after adducing many coincidences

in the described manners of the people, he proceeded to suggest, that the Brigantes of old,—the people north of the Mersey and Humber,—might have been of Gothic origin; and that the amount of organization among them, which elicited many tributes of respect from the Roman writers, was probably on the Gothic model. At the same time, as far as the western coast is concerned, he did not deny the possibility but it might have been visited, for the sake of the metals, by some of the old navigators; and derived the name of Lancaster, or Loncaster, anciently, from the same source as Luna, in Italy, London, Boulogne, Cephalonia, Vitulonia, etc. The names of Belisama and Moricambe, applied by Ptolemy to the estuaries on this coast, must be from roots of a very old language. In going over the well-trod path of its Roman antiquities, an inscription was adduced, in corrupt Latin, recording the re-building of the bath and basilica, which had fallen down through old age: as the Romans did not build by contract, this would indicate a long possession, corroborated also by the dates on coins. The name of Sabinus occurs in an altar to Mars, found near a mound two miles above Lancaster, and also on this altar an inscription referring to the Notitia; also, Longovica was stated to be garrisoned by a numerus Longovicarii, and the words “Deo IALONA” were in evident allusion to the name of the place or ruin; although the frequent turning up of altars, statues, etc., in the neighbouring country, would agree with the probable early occupation of the land by the Roman soldiers. Halton, the place on the Lune where the altar to Mars was found, in connexion with the numerus Barcarii, appears in *Domesday Book*, as the name of the Saxon honour under which Lancaster is included as a ville. A comparison of the ecclesiastical remains found here, and in other places, with the names of the parish church, in the grant of Roger of Poitou, to the abbey of Sieyes, in Normandy, would give a high amount of probability to these remains being purely Saxon. A lengthened detail was then entered into, to show the primitive distinction between foc-land and boc-land, with a view of introducing *Domesday Survey*, and the Saxon names of places contained in that document; and the last effort of the Roman arms, as shown by the altar referring to the Barcarii, at Halton, was contrasted with the peaceful occupation of the site by a Saxon parish church. The Norman fort of Roger de Montgomerie, led to a history of the Norman barons, with a minute reference to the near relation in which each stood to the throne, and a personal sketch of their lives and the part they played in the drama of English politics. This was accompanied with a contemporary account of the successive endowments of the hospital of St. Leonard’s, the Friars, the charter of John, and the enlarged privileges granted by the same; the charter of Edward II after the Conquest; the enclosure of Quernmore Park, on condition of abandoning other forest rights, by Edmund Crouchback. Lancaster first returned members

to parliament to sanction the wars with Scotland, *temp.* Edward I, and continued to do the same until the end of Edward II, when it ceased to be represented for more than two hundred years, during the calamitous period of the wars with Scotland.

Dr. Johnson concluded his paper by reading the subjoined list :—

Lancastrian Lords and Dukes.	Contemporary Kings.
Roger de Poitou was half cousin to . . .	WILLIAM.
Stephen of Bologne, cousin to . . .	WILLIAM II & HENRY.
William, earl of Moreton, son of . . .	STEPHEN.
John, brother of . . .	RICHARD I.
Peter of Savoy, uncle to the queen of . . .	HENRY III.
Edmund Crouchback, brother to . . .	EDWARD I.
Thomas of Lancaster and Henry of Lancaster, cousins to . . .	} EDWARD II.
Henry, first duke, half cousin to . . .	
John of Gaunt, son to . . .	EDWARD III.
John of Gaunt, uncle to . . .	RICHARD II.
Henry Bolinbroke, was . . .	HENRY IV.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22.

The members of the Association and their visitors, amounting to nearly one hundred in number, met at the Assembly Room, and partook of an elegant breakfast, to which they had been invited by the Lancaster local committee. As the Association were this morning to inspect Lancaster castle ; St. Mary's church ; to pay a visit also to Hornby castle, and then proceed to hold a meeting at Manchester in the evening ; immediately after breakfast, votes of thanks and appropriate acknowledgements were made for the hospitality that had been exercised, and the zealous attention devoted to the interests of the meeting. The thanks of the Association were given to the mayor and corporation of Lancaster ; to the local committee ; to the hon. local secretary, Thomas Howitt, esq. ; to Edward Sharpe, esq. ; to the rev. F. B. Danby ; to the county members, J. Heywood, esq., and J. Wilson Patten, esq. ; after which the Association proceeded to inspect the castle, now converted into a prison, over which they were conducted by the governor. The site of the castle is of considerable antiquity, and the Romans had selected it as a strong position. Hadrian, upwards of one thousand seven hundred years ago, ordered the construction of the present ditch. Some portions of the castle are supposed to have been then erected, and to have been subsequently enlarged by Constantine Chlorus (father of Constantine the Great). It was further extended by John, earl of Morton and Lancaster. The keep was said to have been built by John of Gaunt, and the assizes of the county to have been held within its walls for a period

of five hundred and eighty-three years. In the grand jury-room a variety of articles were exhibited, among which may be mentioned, a sixty-eight pound cannon shot, found in the earth in the middle of the castle yard; the brand with which the malefactors were in olden times "burnt in the hand"; a variety of shackles and handcuffs, comprising, the heavy double irons, the light double irons, the basil, shackle bolt handcuffs, letter B handcuffs, rivet cuffs, and figure of eight cuffs; a set of pillory irons, set up with a wooden figure in the attitude these articles compelled their unhappy tenant to assume; the old keys of the old gates of the castle; a rifle carabine, of the date of 1651, a highly-finished and beautiful piece of antiquity, the curiously constructed "wheel lock", giving fire unfailingly. Some pieces of Roman pottery, dug up within the castle; a portion of a handsome Norman stone cross, found in the churchyard. A medal in bronze, commemorating the defeat of the Scotch rebels by the duke of Cumberland; this was said to be unique, and was found in the Ford of the Lune near Scale lane; a halfpenny of Lancaster, dated 1610; angels of Edward IV and Henry VI, found on the site of the priory of St. Leonard; a bronze celt, found at Meathop; a silver seal of the reign of Edward I; an antique personal seal in brass; many valuable impressions of seals of the corporation, abbeys, etc. A quantity of Roman coins—Domitian, A.D. 81, Constantine the great, Tetricus the elder, A.D. 267, Nero, Julia Domna, Trajan, Hadrian, Aurelian, Jovianus, Commodus, Vespasian, Maximilian, etc. A coin of Antoninus Pius, bearing on the reverse the figure and name of Britannia, found in the churchyard. An interesting relic of early times in the shape of a betrothal ring in silver. Drawings, plans, and views of Lancaster and its noble castle from very early to the most recent dates.

After visiting St. Mary's, Lancaster, in which a most beautifully carved wood roodscreen was examined, the members of the association departed on a visit to Hornby castle, the seat of Pudsey Dawson, esq. It is built upon a high rock, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding district; the original castle is supposed to have been built by Roger de Mont Begon, but the old tower is all that remains of the ancient fabric, and that was erected by Edward Stanley, the first lord Monteagle (to whom the mysterious letter was sent which led to the frustration of Guy Fawkes' design upon the parliament of that day); and on one of the walls is that noble lord's motto, "Glav et glant. E. Stanley". In 1617, king James visited the castle on his way from Edinburgh to London, and Mr. Dawson exhibited to the company a pair of boots, presented to one of his ancestors by Henry the Sixth, with other presents, in a box, on which is this inscription: "The gift of king Henry VI of England to sir Ralph Pudsey, of Craven Hall, Yorkshire; his boots, spoon, and gloves—the only gifts in his power to bestow on a faithful and loyal adherent, having remained under his hospitable roof for several weeks after the fatal battle of Hexham." Mr.

Dawson also showed his visitors, among other family muniments, a letter signed "Oliver Cromwell", and addressed to William Dawson, one of his ancestors, who was mayor of Doncaster in the Protector's time, and to the corporation. It is dated Ripon, 16th August 1631, and says: "Gentlemen, I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with y^e army on Wednesday night or Thursday morning; and forasmuch as y^e soldiers will need a supply of victuals, I desire to give notice to the country to use your best endeavours to raise bread, butter, cheese, and flesh, to be brought in and to be in readiness against their coming. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest, your very loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Mr. Dawson also produced a letter, written by Thomas Lord Surrey, who commanded at Flodden in 1513, to Thomas Pudsey, who rested at Newcastle with part of the army.

After partaking of the hospitality of Mr. Pudsey Dawson, the company returned by train to Lancaster, stopping, however, by the way to visit a Roman "milliarium", in the orchard of Mr. Gregson, of Caton, the inscription on which is still legible, though much worn. It is in capitals, and runs thus:—IMP. AUG. THRA. HADN. PONT. MAX. CONS. VIII. MIL. PAS. QUATOR", which was read by Mr. Just, thus:—"Imperator Augustus Trajanus Hadrianus Pontifex Maximus Consul Octies Millia Passuum quatuor."

The company also stopped at Halton to inspect a votive tablet of the Romans to Mars, probably erected previously to undertaking one of their campaigns. It is as follows (allowing for the letters between parenthesis, and which are doubtful): "DEO MART(I) SAB(US) P.P. ET MILIT(ES) N. BARC. S. . . . EIL. V.S. P.O." This is usually read "Deo Marti Sabinus Pater Patrie", or, as Mr. Just reads it, pro prætor, "a milites numeri Barcorum (s. . . . EIL) Voto Saluto Posuit". The company reached Lancaster again at half-past three, and finally left it for Manchester.

The Association held a meeting at the Town-Hall, the President in the chair, who reported the examinations made, and the papers which had been read at Furness and at Lancaster; after which, J. Just, esq., and J. Harland, esq., read their joint paper on Roman Ribchester.—See pp. 229-251 *ante*.

Dr. William Bell read a paper on Æolophiles, illustrative of the early application of steam to the purposes of superstition.

Dr. Bell commenced by stating his conviction, that the power of steam was far better known by the ancients than was generally supposed. He had succeeded in tracing this knowledge for twenty-one hundred years before the present time, and two centuries and a half anterior to the Christian era, from which period the moderns had certain accounts to be depended upon as to the properties and effects of steam, not as recently

found out, but simply explaining certain “tricks”, or experiments, with it, as facts of every-day occurrence. A treatise by Hero the Elder, of Alexandria, who lived under the second Ptolemy, or his successor, consequently in the 365th Olympiad, or one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, was published in Greek on pneumatics, in which many curious experiments are recorded; besides three, which most decidedly were effected by the expansive and explosive power of steam, where the steam was described as passing from the dragon’s mouth. Hero mentions fire as an agent in this theorem. The introduction by the sacrificing priests of steam issuing from a dragon’s mouth, points out not only the means by which these effects might have been produced, but also its evident use for the foundation and retention of a dark and terrible superstition. Before, however, turning to the barbaric evidences of a dubious era, he should call attention to the description of the steam-engine exhibited at Rome under Leo X, who held the papacy from 1513 to 1531, as given by Marcellus Palingenus, in Latin hexameters:—

“Vidi ego dum Romæ decimo regnante Leone
 Essem, opus a figulo factum juvenisque figuram
 Efflantem augusto validum ventum oris hiatu
 Quippe cavo infusam retinebat pectore lympham
 Quæ subjecto igne resoluta exhibat ab ore
 In faciem venti valide longeque furebat
 Ergo etiam ventis resoluta emittitur unda
 Dum vapor exhalens fugit impellante calore
 Namque fugari solent sese contraria semper.”

The doctor then proceeded to describe what he termed “the actual evidence still existing of the adaptation of this abstract principle, and the manner in which, by its application, the crafty and unscrupulous priests of the old world acted on the fears of an ignorant, rude, and barbarous people.” This consisted in the employment of images of various forms, human and bestial, with one of its two orifices, for the purpose of pouring in fluid, afterwards hermetically closed, and with another and a narrower orifice at the mouth, which they might fairly suppose to have been plugged with a piece of cork, or some other elastic substance, which could be driven out with the greatest velocity, when the fire placed under the figure brought the steam suddenly up. He exhibited a drawing of a figure, “der Püstrich”, which had been the subject of research and inquiry by all Germany for nearly two hundred years. It was found in the castle of Rothenburg, in 1554, hidden under rubbish and stones, in a crypt that was suddenly broken into, and situated beneath the oratory. He next went on to refer to the well-known “Jock of Hilton”, described in Plot’s *Natural History of Staffordshire*, and illustrated the subject by reading extracts from several German writers, and a quotation from Mr. J. O.

Halliwell's popular rhymes. He then made some observations on a figure of this nature, found in the digging of the Basingstoke railway, which is preserved in the presses of the Society of Antiquaries, and likewise on several other ancient remains of this description found in different countries. The bestial figures referred to by Dr. Bell consisted of a tiger-cat, found in a tumulus near an urn, and that of a lion (perhaps more modern); next, three figures dug up in Norway, a knight equipped in the most ancient armour placed on a horse, a dragon with a small knight in its web, and an unicorn with a horn representing a steam-pipe. The figures were illustrated by accounts of the immolations betwixt the Teutonic knights and the heathen inhabitants of Prussia. The concluding remarks were principally confined to the damage done by superstition in casting a veil over the principle of steam power, and thereby preventing a knowledge of its great and useful properties for, at least, two thousand years before it attained its present importance.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23.

At a meeting held at the Town Hall in the morning, the President in the chair, the rev. J. W. Whittaker, D.D., vicar of Blackburn, read a paper "On Local Nomenclature, especially Celtic" (see pp. 255-271, *ante*); after which some observations were made on the discovery of Roman remains at Lymne in Kent, under the direction of J. Elliott, esq. of Dymchurch, and C. Roach Smith, esq., F.S.A. As the particulars relating to this discovery have from time to time appeared in the *Times* newspaper and the *Literary Gazette*, we refer such of our readers as may feel interested in this branch of antiquity to those publications.

Wm. Beamont, esq. of Warrington, read a paper "On the Traces of the Romans along the Banks of the Mersey", which is reserved for a future journal. Mr. Pettigrew read a paper communicated by the rev. Beale Poste on Ancient British Chariots (see pp. 252-255, *ante*). The meeting adjourned at four o'clock, P.M., and re-assembled for dinner at the Albion tavern at six o'clock, the president in the chair, supported by the right rev. the lord bishop of Manchester; the mayor of Manchester; rear-admiral sir W. Henry Dillon; Mark Philips, esq.; Jas. Crossley, esq.; etc., etc. Upon the toast of the patrons of the Congress being proposed, an apology was made for the earl of Derby (whose health does not permit of his being present at public meetings). The bishop of Manchester expressed his regret that he had been unable at an earlier period to give his attendance, and trusted it would not be attributed to any lukewarmness on his part in the pursuits of the Association, as it had arisen from circumstances over which he had no controul. He desired to be proposed as a member, and should be found at his post the following day, being convinced that there

was no branch of study more useful to mankind than the study of archæology, and he believed no one afforded more opportunity for the exercise of the inductive process of reasoning. Various other speeches were made by the president, sir H. Dillon, Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Mark Philips, the mayor of Manchester, Mr. Planché, Mr. Crossley, Mr. Grogan, Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, Mr. Wansey, Mr. Ashpitel, Mr. C. Baily, Mr. White, etc.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24.

The business of this day commenced at an early hour by a meeting at Chetham College, where the Association was met by the bishop of Manchester and the officials of the College. The party was conducted over the building and the library, and in a room which Mr. Crossley remarked was that in which the celebrated Dr. Dee received sir Walter Raleigh and sir Henry Saville, Mr. Grogan delivered a paper on Humfrey Chetham and his Foundation. See pp. 294-302, *ante*.

Adjourning to the Town Hall, the papers were proceeded with, THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER IN THE CHAIR. Mr. Planché (on the part of G. J. French, esq., who was absent from indisposition) read a paper "On the Tippetts of the Canons-Ecclesiastical". See pp. 272-293, *ante*.

James Thompson, esq., of Leicester, read a paper "On the Remains of the Roman (Jewry) Wall at Leicester", which he intends to publish, and a notice of which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. A paper by Edw. Pretty, esq., of Northampton, was read by Alfred White, esq., "On Roman Discoveries in Northamptonshire", which will also be printed in the *Journal*.

Mr. Pettigrew, on the part of J. A. Repton, esq., F.S.A., laid upon the table some excellent drawings of ancient tapestries in his possession. "They appear (Mr. Repton says) from the costume to be about the date of 1500. The duckbill shoes especially confirm this period, as we find them as early as the time of Henry VII superseding the pouland shoes, worn between the reign of Edward I and Henry VII.

"In old romances, the ladies are described as being of a fair complexion, as—

"Ladies whyt as swan"; or

"Bryght as blosse on brere"; and

"Sche was as whyt as lylle yn May"; or as

"Snow that snoweth yn wyntery day."

"But in the tapestry, the complexion of the ladies is represented by *black* or *dark brown*, as the object was to shew off the splendour of their dresses, and the jewels; and if there be any landscape, it is kept subdued, as we do not find any bright clouds or water to distract our attention from the rich composition of the figures.

"In ancient tapestries we must not always expect correctness, as many of the figures are out of drawing, the hands distorted, and the eyes in some appear to be squinting, or the figures out of perspective, and in one of them a kneeling figure appears to be taller than the little constable who is standing. Some of the leaves and flowers at the bottom of the tapestries are so highly-finished and well shaded, that they must have been previously designed by some expert artist for the 'ladies of the household' to copy.

"There is a favourite ornament frequently introduced in old tapestry, that is, a representation of a pine apple, or thistle, which is surrounded by a border composed of five flat Gothic arches. This pattern is not only found on the walls, but also as a covering to a sofa, and is sometimes represented on the robes or cloaks."

Mr. Planché observed that these tapestries were exceedingly interesting, and involved a curious point of inquiry. It was quite evident that those from which Mr. Repton's beautiful drawings had been made, were of the same date as the tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry; of that under the music gallery in cardinal Wolsey's hall, at Hampton Court; of those published by Mons. Jubinal, as the tapestries of Nancy, and of the pieces formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Yarnold of Great St. Helen's, London, one of which was known as "the Plantagenet tapestry", and said to contain portraits of Richard III and various members of the York and Lancastrian families. Now the tapestry in St. Mary's hall was supposed to have been presented to the city of Coventry by Henry VI, and those of Nancy to have belonged to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy: but Mr. Planché believed that a comparison of all these would prove that the period of their execution was quite the close of the fifteenth century, (*tempore* Henry VII in England), and that, consequently, neither the Coventry tapestry nor those of Nancy, were of the date assigned to them. The Coventry tapestry contained undoubtedly portraits of Henry VI, Margaret his queen, cardinal Beaufort, and other personages of the Lancastrian party; but it was most probably acquired by the city after the accession of Henry VII. The so-called "Plantagenet tapestry" on the contrary contained, in Mr. Planché's opinion, no portraits of historical personages; but would, he thought, prove on examination to represent some incidents in mythology, or perhaps of the "siege of Troy", which is known to have formed the subject of some other of the pieces in the late Mr. Yarnold's possession.

J. Harland, esq. read a paper "On ancient charters to the burgesses of Clitheroe", which will be printed in the original documents of the next *Journal*.

J. R. Planché, esq. closed the readings with some observations on the helmets placed in the museum of the congress, and promised a paper on the subject for the *Journal*.

James Crossley, esq., president of the Chetham society, then proposed

the following resolution, which was seconded by the rev. T. Corser, M.A., of Stand, and carried unanimously :—" That with a view to the advancement of archæological science and the formation of a central museum of British antiquities, it is desirable to promote a union between the British Archæological Association and the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and that this meeting strongly recommend the council of the British Archæological Association, to take such steps as to them may seem expedient, to accomplish these important objects."¹

Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Planché, as officers of the Association, expressed their desire to aid in carrying it into effect.

The thanks of the Association were then severally voted to the patrons, to the mayor and corporation, to the president, the vice-presidents, the treasurer, the secretaries, the general committee, the curator, registrar, and librarian, the local officers and committee, the contributors of papers, and to the museum, the Mechanics' Institute, the feoffees of Chetham College, the Royal Institution and Natural History Society.

The congress terminated by a vote of thanks, carried by acclamation, to the lord bishop of Manchester, for his attention in presiding over the concluding meeting.

The treasurer announced that he had received applications requesting the Association to hold the next congress at Derby, at Rochester, at Durham, at Ludlow, and at Plymouth. The selection of the place would be made by the council, and announced in due time.

It remains only to record, that an exceedingly interesting museum had been collected for the congress at the rooms of the Mechanics' Institute, the contents of which excited much interest, and will probably form subjects for future papers.

A medal commemorative of the congress at Manchester and Lancaster had been designed and struck by Mr. J. Taylor, and the president most liberally presented one to each member and visitor present at the congress.

A lithographed map of part of Manchester, shewing remains of the site of the Roman Mancunium, as surveyed by Mr. Edward Corbett, was prepared by the local committee, and impressions presented to the members and visitors at the congress.

¹ The proceedings taken in reference to this resolution are detailed in pages 350-4.

STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL

IN REFERENCE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED AT MANCHESTER, AUG. 24, 1850.

(See page 349 *ante*.)

THE Council of the British Archæological Association submit the following statement of proceedings taken in consequence of the Resolution passed at the concluding meeting of the Congress, held at Manchester, Saturday, August 24th, 1850.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER in the Chair.

At this Meeting it was moved by James Crossley, Esq., President of the Chetham Society; and seconded by the Rev. Thos. Corser, M.A., of Stand:—

“That with a view to the advancement of Archæological Science, and the formation of a Central Museum of British Antiquities, it is desirable to promote a union between the British Archæological Association and the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and that this meeting strongly recommends the Council of the British Archæological Association to take such steps, as to them may seem expedient to accomplish those important objects.”

This Resolution was carried unanimously, and without a single expression of dissent. Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Planché, as officers of the Association, stated, after it had passed, their willingness to co-operate in the object proposed, and expressed also their belief of the existence of the same feeling on the part of the Council of the Association.

At the first meeting of the Council held after the Congress, Sept. 4th,

T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair,

it was unanimously resolved;—

“That the President of the British Archæological Association be requested to communicate to the President of the Archæological Institute, the copy of a Resolution, unanimously adopted at a Meeting of the Congress, held at Manchester, upon the motion of James Crossley, Esq., seconded by the Rev. Thomas Corser, M.A., (the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester presiding); and to assure the President of the Institute, that the Council of the British Archæological Association will be happy to aid in any way that shall be agreed upon, in order to carry into effect the recommendation contained in that Resolution.”

James Heywood, Esq., President of the Association, on the 9th of Sept. communicated to the Marquis of Northampton, President of the Institute, the Resolution passed at Manchester, and also a copy of the Resolution passed by the Council on the 4th, and alluded to several individuals, members of the Institute, who were anxious for the union of the societies. He also solicited the aid of the Marquis as most important in the negotiation, from his knowledge of, and experience in, public business; and suggested that it might be desirable to appoint a committee of three or four of the Institute to meet a similar number of the Association on the subject. Mr. Heywood hoped by this step to aid in the restoration of harmony and good-will among archæologists.

On the same day (the 9th), the Marquis of Northampton acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Heywood's letter and the Resolutions, and stated his willingness to communicate them to the Committee of the Archæological

Institute, who would of course take them into consideration; but at the same time expressed his opinion that there was no quarrel to be reconciled, though there might have existed a little warmth at the first moment of the division. He considered the societies now as exercising some degree of emulation, but exhibiting no hostile feeling, and thought it probable that more archæological work was done by meetings in two places than when confined to one. He expressed his apprehension that at this time of the year he could not expect any very early meeting of the Committee of the Institute to consider the letter, as so many people were away from town; and his Lordship also acquainted Mr. Heywood that the Trustees of the British Museum having provided a room for the reception of British antiquities, that object expressed in the Resolution of Aug. 24th, would be unnecessary and inadvisable.

Mr. Heywood acknowledged the receipt of the Marquis's communication on the 14th. He agreed with his Lordship on the subject of the collection of British antiquities in the British Museum, and considered the proposed union of the societies as favourable to such a result. Mr. Heywood, *on his own part*, was even willing that the united societies should bear the name of the Institute; and that the next Congress should be held at Bristol, as proposed by the Institute. Mr. Heywood, however, urged that the step most required consisted in the appointing a quiet conference to promote a reconciliation between the two bodies; and alluded also to the Bishop of Chester, who took an active part at the Congress of the British Archæological Association at Chester in 1849, who considered the union a matter of great importance.

On this day (Sept. 14) the following advertisement appeared in the *Literary Gazette* and the *Athenæum*:—

"ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. The Central Committee of the Institute have considered a Resolution, passed at a recent Meeting of the British Archæological Association at Manchester, (August 24th), in reference to the expediency of promoting a union between the Association and the Institute. The Committee desire to give this public notice, that they are ready, as they have always been, to admit members of the Association desirous of joining the Institute. They have determined accordingly that, in order to offer reasonable encouragement to the Members of the Association, they shall henceforth be eligible, without the payment of the customary entrance fee, on the intimation of their wish to the Committee, to be proposed for Election. Life Members of the Association shall be eligible as Life Members, on payment of half the usual composition. All Members of the Association thus elected, shall likewise have the privilege of acquiring the previous publications of the Institute, at the price to original subscribers.

"Apartments of the Institute, 26, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, September 9th, 1850.

"By order of the Central Committee,

"H. BOWYER LANE, *Secretary*."

On the 17th Sept. the Marquis of Northampton addressed Mr. Heywood to state that he had heard from Mr. Albert Way, one of the Secretaries of the Institute, to whom he had sent Mr. H.'s letter (of the 9th), and that he therein learnt that a General Committee of the Institute had passed a Resolution, and that the same had been inserted in the *Literary Gazette* and the *Athenæum*. The Marquis expressed his hope that Mr. Heywood would think the terms proposed liberal and fair. The Marquis had likewise received a letter from Mr. Wright, and he had also considered his plan of union, as put forth in the *Literary Gazette* of the 7th inst., which however he thought beset with many difficulties, and the discussion of which might create difference of opinion among the members of the Institute. He preferred the simple plan of fusion proposed to that of union.

On the 18th Sept. the Council of the British Archæological Association (S. R. Solly, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair), having learnt from their President that he had received a letter from the Marquis of Northampton of the 9th of Sept., acknowledging the receipt of the Manchester Resolution of Aug. 24th, together with the vote of the Council of the 4th Sept., and being unable to reconcile the information conveyed in that letter with the appearance of the advertisement of the 14th (bearing the date of the 9th), which implied that the Committee of the Institute had considered the Resolution passed at Manchester ere it had been transmitted to them by the Council of the Association to whom it was alone addressed, requested the President to forward to the President of the Institute the following Resolution which had been unanimously adopted:—

“That this Council having seen with great surprise a Public Advertisement, signed by the Secretary of the Archæological Institute, by order of the Central Committee, dated September 9, respecting a Resolution which it appears to this Council could not possibly, at that time, have been officially communicated to the Central Committee, request Mr. Heywood to be kind enough to draw the attention of the Marquis of Northampton to the subject.”

Mr. Heywood being away from home, it was not until the 23rd that he communicated to the Marquis the above resolution; and in doing so, expressed his hope that if there had been any omission of due form in the official communication of the public notice of the 9th of Sept., that such informality might be considered an additional reason for the fair consideration by the whole of the governing body of the Archæological Institute of the conciliatory resolution passed at Manchester on the 24th August. Mr. Heywood agreed with the Marquis of Northampton as to the possible difficulties attending the plan suggested in the *Literary Gazette*, but he could not entertain the opinion that men of learning, talent and distinction in the world, would be “reasonably encouraged” to join a society when they have to intimate their wish to the governing Committee to be proposed for election, and were then merely to be indulged with a sort of admission at half-price by a reduced scale of payments. The question, he thought, not so much a case involving money as dignity; and he therefore asked that the Resolution of the Manchester Meeting should be considered by the Committee of the Archæological Institute after due notice and with deliberation.

On the 23rd Sept. the following communication was forwarded by the Marquis of Northampton for the Council of the Association:—

“ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
“26, SUFFOLK STREET, PALL MALL, *September 23, 1850.*

“At an ordinary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Archæological Institute, the President in the Chair, it was unanimously Resolved, ‘That the Committee having taken into consideration the Resolution of the British Archæological Association, passed at their Congress at Manchester, and also of their Council of the 4th of September, and communicated by the President of the Association to the President of the Institute, are of opinion that the position and prospects of the Institute are such, as to render inexpedient any essential modification of its existing rules and management.

“The Committee disclaims all unfriendly feeling towards the Association; they are of opinion that the field of Archæology is sufficiently wide for the operations of several societies without discord; but if the Members of the Archæological Association should be disposed to unite with the Institute, the Central Committee will cordially receive them on the terms announced in the Advertisement of September 9th, which was intended to be conciliatory; feeling assured that such a course cannot fail to meet with the entire approbation of the Members of the Institute.

“By order of the Central Committee,

“H. BOWYER LANE, *Secretary.*”

In communicating this resolution (which also appeared as an advertisement in the *Literary Gazette* and the *Athenæum*), the Marquis of Northampton objected in strong terms to the tone and spirit of a letter written by Mr. Wright, and printed in the *Literary Gazette* of the 21st Sept., and assured the President of the Association that nothing offensive was intended by the Resolution of the 9th Sept., which was passed to mark a friendly feeling, and to facilitate, in case of the meetings of the Association being discontinued, the power of the members following their pursuits in company with the Institute. The Marquis admitted that the Committee of the Institute had been deficient in point of form in not signifying more directly to the Association their intentions, but urged in excuse that they then had no official information from the Association, and only knew what was said in the papers. The Marquis objected to any proposal of a junction of Committees; and stated that if the Association, in their individual capacities, joined the Institute, they would be as eligible as any of the members of the Institute to sit on committees and to be officers. The Institute, he said, did not ask the Association to discontinue its meetings; and not having received any expression of any wish from their own congregated body, he saw no reason why they should be called on to exceed their own powers for the sake of tempting the Association, or run the risk of producing a discussion in their own body by a special general meeting. The Marquis expressed a desire to heal any remaining soreness of feeling, if any remained, between the two bodies. On his own part, the Marquis suggested that if the Association should, at the time of the Institute meeting at Bristol, have announced its intention to dissolve itself, he saw no objection to an absolute right being given to the Members of the Association being admitted into the Institute by the simple expression of their wish to be so, without the form of an election. The Marquis desired his letter to be shewn to the Council of the Association, and trusted that at all events a friendly feeling would be established between the Members of the Association and the Institute.

On the 2nd Oct., at a Council of the Association (T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair), the foregoing letter of the Marquis of Northampton, and Resolution of the Committee of the Institute, were taken into consideration, and it was unanimously resolved:—

“That the Council of the British Archæological Association having, in accordance with a Resolution passed at the late Congress, held at Manchester, August 24th, made overtures to the Archæological Institute, in reference to a union between the two bodies as useful in the promotion of Archæological researches, regret to find that the Central Committee of the Institute, by their Resolution of the 23rd September, deem it inexpedient to take any steps calculated to promote so desirable an object.

“That, as it appears by a Letter from the President of the Institute, erroneous opinions are entertained with regard to the position and intentions of the Association, a letter explanatory of the circumstances be addressed to the Marquis of Northampton, and that the same be printed together with the proceedings in the forthcoming number of the Journal, for the information of the Members of the Association and of the Institute.”

The following letter has been addressed to the Marquis of Northampton.

“MICHAEL'S GROVE LODGE, BROMPTON.

“October 3, 1850.

“MY LORD,—Your Lordship having desired Mr. Heywood to lay your Lordship's letter before the Council of the British Archæological Association, I have the honour, by the direction of the Council, to convey to your lordship their thanks, for the courtesy

with which you have communicated the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Archæological Institute, in reply to that of the Association, forwarded by Mr. Heywood to your Lordship.

"At the same time they feel it their duty, to call your Lordship's attention to certain points of your Lordship's letter, from which it appears to them, you are labouring under an erroneous impression respecting the position and intentions of the Association.

"With the letter published by Mr. Wright, the Council beg to observe they have nothing to do. They decline being considered in any way responsible for the taste or spirit of the composition of any individual member of the Society, and as your Lordship, equally with the Central Committee, has declared that the Advertisement of the 9th of September last was intended to be conciliatory, the Council have much pleasure in receiving that acknowledgment.

"But your Lordship does not seem to be aware that the Resolution passed at Manchester, which gave rise to that Advertisement, did not originate with the Association, but with Gentlemen entirely unconnected with it, encouraged by the frequently expressed desire of many eminent members of the Institute itself, (one of whom was actually the seconder of the Resolution), and in the belief, that a junction was earnestly desired by a large majority of that body.

"With such an understanding therefore, the members of the Association present at the Congress, agreed that the motion of Mr. Crossley and the Rev. Mr. Corser should be carried unanimously, in order that no difficulty whatever should be thrown in the way of healing the unhappy differences which had so long existed between the Societies, or it might more justly be said, between certain members of them.

"It must surely have been obvious to every one, that such a desirable consummation was only to be arrived at by the dissolution of both Societies; and their re-establishment as one and the same body under the original or an entirely new title. In fact, as if no separation had ever taken place; not by the mere admission of Members of the Association into the Institute, or the entire sacrifice of one body to aggrandize the other.

"The Council request your Lordship distinctly to understand, that they foresaw from the first the inferences which would be drawn from this proposition for a union, and therefore would have respectfully declined taking the initiative, had they not felt the Association was strong enough to enable them to do so. When, therefore, your Lordship hints at the probable dissolution of the Association, it appears to the Council that the consciousness of power and progress which justified them in offering an alliance, has been misinterpreted as they anticipated, and considered an acknowledgment of weakness, which compelled surrender. It is in no boastful spirit therefore, but simply with the desire to set your Lordship perfectly right on that point, that the Council beg me to inform your Lordship, that the Association was never in less danger of dissolution than at the present moment; that the increase of Members during the past year has exceeded that of any former year, and includes several valuable Members of the Institute; that it numbers eighty-two Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, and what is perhaps the strongest guarantee of its success and stability, that it has no debt it cannot discharge; a fact as honourable to its management as it is encouraging to its supporters.

"Under such circumstances it would be, as far as pecuniary interests are concerned, as inexpedient for the Association to change its existing regulations as for the Institute, and nothing but the laudable desire to be the first to forget and forgive, could have induced the Council to have listened for a moment to the recommendation urged upon them.

"Reciprocating the hope your Lordship expresses, in conclusion, that at all events a friendly feeling will be established between the two Societies,

"I have the honour to be,

"MY LORD,

"To the Most Honourable
The Marquis of Northampton, &c., &c.

"Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
"J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Hon. Sec.*

Notices of New Publications.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT. By Sir Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S., etc. London: J. Murray. 1850. 8vo. Plates in folio.

THIS work supplies a desideratum in regard to Egyptian architecture. It proceeds from the first Egyptian archæologist of the present time; and its object is, to arrange the columns in different orders, to classify the temples, and to describe the principal peculiarities of Egyptian architecture. It also shows the error of attributing to Greek influence those various changes in Egyptian architecture which were the natural result of its progress, and which find a parallel in those that have taken place in the monuments of other people, of ancient and modern times. The style of building prevalent in various ages, and among various nations of antiquity, is also compared; from which it is evident that horizontal courses of stone date, in Egypt, far earlier than the polygonal work of Italy and Greece; and the influence there exercised by the Egyptians is pointed out, as well as the fact of the ancients having derived much from each other, and having been greatly guided in taste by the example of that country which, at the time, enjoyed the reputation of being the most advanced in civilization and the arts.

The extraordinary character of the Egyptian columns, some of which are so dissimilar as to appear to belong to a totally distinct style of architecture, and the gradual process by which those different kinds of columns grew out of the original square pillar, are well explained; together with the various gradations through which their temples advanced, from the small one-chambered sanctuary to the complicated plan given to the large structures of the eighteenth Dynasty, when Egyptian power and civilization were at their zenith, and the conquests of the Pharaohs had extended into the heart of Asia and Africa.

The work does not profess to exhaust the subject; but merely to give a general view of Egyptian architecture: the expense of one so comprehensive would be far greater than any individual could be expected to incur; and the author has been obliged to express his regret at being unable to avail himself of all the materials he has collected. The large plates, however, in this work, contain full illustrations of the subject; some present the columns, with their most minute details, which, being all drawn to the same scale, show at once their relative dimensions; and others exhibit the numerous peculiarities of Egyptian architecture.

It is a matter of congratulation, that such a work should have been undertaken by one so competent to the task, and at the present time, when so many monuments are being destroyed to build palaces, manufactories, and other edifices. The author notices, indeed, a remarkable instance of the almost entire disappearance of one kind of monument—the peripteral temples of early time; and which, from being small, and situated in places where government buildings chanced to be wanted, have been entirely destroyed. The total destruction of Memphis is to be explained in this way; and who can say what light upon the history of the country, and upon Egyptian architecture, might not have been thrown, had that celebrated city continued to this day?

The author traces the columns primarily from the square pillar derived from the mass left to support the roof of a stone quarry, to the forming it into a polygonal shaft by removing the angles, and thence into the round fluted column; and so on, by ornamental details, as to produce a classification of eight several orders, terminating with what he calls the Osiride pillar. The history of the progress of these orders is only to be explained upon the knowledge of the employment of columns in Egyptian architecture; the columns being equally with the walls subservient to the depicting of various subjects and devices which afterwards became sculptured in relievo. To comprehend this, however, in a satisfactory manner, the work itself must be consulted; and it is to be hoped that the author, having resolved to put forth at his own expense what publishers were unwilling to undertake, may meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him to continue the subject, and to give all those extensive illustrations, which he has expressed his regret to be unable to introduce into the present work. We trust he may be able to fulfil his own wishes, and present to us an entire Egyptian temple, with proper elevations and sections; to exhibit the varied character of the Egyptian portico; and to represent the singularly mysterious and gorgeously coloured interiors of the tombs of the kings. The plates are beautifully executed, and the coloured portions faithful and magnificent.

T. J. P.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

WORKS IN PREPARATION.

By subscription, nearly ready. An Account of the Roman Wall, which extends from Wallsend to Bowness, containing the substance of the Lectures recently delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and before the British Archæological Association at the Chester Congress. By the Rev. J. C. Bruce, A.M. Beautifully illustrated in tinted lithography, and engravings on wood, plans; etchings of implements, and of fictile manufactures. Price Sixteen Shillings. To be raised on the day of publication to One Guinea. Fifty copies will be printed on a fine thick quarto, price One Guinea and a Half. London : John Russell Smith. Newcastle-upon Tyne : Bruce and Sang.

Nearly ready. By subscription. In 2 vols., to be published in Parts. Imperial folio, Two Guineas; plates tinted, Two Guineas and a Half; richly tinted, Three Guineas; tinted impressions, atlas folio, Four Guineas each Part. Architectural Illustrations of the Spires and Towers of the Mediæval Churches of Great Britain. By Charles Wickes, Architect, Leicester. Names to be sent to the Author.

Preparing for publication, by William Bell, Phil. Doct., Foreign Secretary of the British Archæological Association, the inedited Chronicle of Thomas Sprott of the History of the World to about 1372, in fac-simile of the Original, the property of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., in complete preservation, with all the beautiful Illuminations and Heads, etc., which the roll contains. It is about thirty-two feet long by ten inches wide, written in a firm bold hand, with numerous contractions, which will be faithfully retained, and on the other side for about half its length is the more immediate ecclesiastical History to the Crucifixion. It is hoped that the entire work, with a translation and notes by the editor, will be ready shortly after Christmas, and will strikingly exemplify the superior means possessed by the present age in producing the works of mediæval authors so much more perfect than by common types, unless at a cost as was the fac-simile edition of Domesday Book, beyond the means of any but regal or national establishments.

Shakespeare's Puck and his Folks Lore, illustrated from the superstitions of all nations, but more especially from the earliest religion and rites of Northern Europe and the Wends. Illustrated with numerous woodcuts. To be comprised in two vols. 12mo., and to be ready early in the spring. By William Bell, Phil. Doct.

In imperial quarto, price Twelve Shillings. Five elaborately tinted Plates, printed in gold, silver, and colours, being exact fac-similes of an Ancient Irish Ecclesiastical Bell, which is supposed to have belonged to St. Patrick, and the four sides of the jewelled Shrine, in which it is preserved; accompanied by a historical and descriptive essay by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A., Ballymena. London : Thomas Hodgson, 13, Paternoster Row. Dublin : Hodges and Smith. Belfast : Marcus Ward and Co.

The first Part of the Museum of Classical Antiquities, a quarterly journal of architecture and the sister branches of classic art, will appear in January, and contain an essay on the antiquities of Xanthus by Benj. Gibson, Esq., of Rome, accompanied with numerous illustrations. This paper has been entrusted to the Editor of the Museum of Classical Antiquities by the Council of the British Archæological Association; and the attention of the members is requested to the publication as one likely to prove very useful in the promotion of archæology. A subscription of £1. will entitle the subscriber to four quarterly parts. The names of subscribers may be sent to the publisher, Mr. John W. Parker, 445, West Strand.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JANUARY 1851.

ON THE RUINS OF THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, IN FURNESS.

BY J. E. SHARPE, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued from page 317.)

THE plan is after the form of the Latin cross, of which a short choir (F), without aisles, forms the eastern limb; transepts (G G), with three eastern chapels (g g g), separated by partition walls, and each containing its altar and piscina, the north and south limbs; and the nave (B), with its side aisles (c c), the western limb; the crossing (E), or portion common to both beams of the cross, being covered with a low lantern or tower, rising one stage only above the intersecting roofs of the church.

The first thing that arrests the attention on entering the church, is the apparently anomalous union of the two forms of arch, the *circular* and the *pointed*: a circumstance which has frequently led archæologists to describe such buildings as belonging partly to one style and partly to another, but which is, in fact, a characteristic feature of the architecture of the transitional period, in the earlier part of which, a discrimination is exercised in the use of the two forms, which is worthy of note.

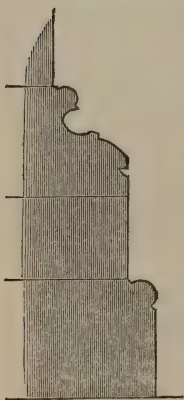
All arches may be divided into two classes: I. Those which form part of the frame-work of the fabric, and may therefore be called "arches of construction"; and II. Those which are used for panelling, or piercing or ornamenting the walls, and which may be termed accordingly "arches

of decoration". Now, in the earlier part of the transitional period, the arches of construction are usually *pointed*, and the arches of decoration *circular*; a law which not only seems to indicate sufficiently the cause of the adoption of the pointed form, but also the lingering preference that was still felt for the circular form.

The example before us corroborates this rule; inasmuch as the *arches of construction* are all pointed. They consist of: I. The four large arches of the crossing, supporting the lantern, and opening into the four limbs of the cross; II. The pier-arches in the transepts; III. The pier-arches in the nave (now destroyed); IV. The arches of the vaulting of the transeptal chapels; and V. The vaulting of the side-aisles of the nave, as shewn by the wall-rib in the westernmost compartment on the south side.

So, also, the *arches of decoration* are circular: they consist of: I. The clerestory windows, which, although filled up, are still to be traced on the upper walls of the transepts; II. The triforium-arch, which, although also stopped, is still to be seen on the east wall of the north transept; III. The lower windows of the church, as seen in the west wall of the transepts; IV. The fine north doorway; V. The south doorway, leading into the cloister; and VI. The side-aisle windows of the nave, one example of which is still left in the westernmost compartment of the south aisle, under the pointed wall-rib of the vaulting.

In the nave, the piers consisted alternately of a large cylindrical pillar, and a cluster of eight circular shafts, in which the departure from the heavy Norman pier is perceptible; this advance is further indicated by their bases, which have a well defined profile of peculiar character.

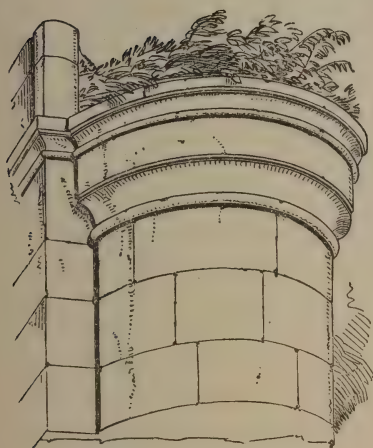


Base of nave piers.

All the arches, and the upper part of the piers in the nave, being destroyed, with the exception of the easternmost pier on the north side, this remaining fragment, in connexion with the corresponding piers of the transepts, which also consist of a cluster of eight shafts, affords the best evidence that is left, of the nature of the upper portion of

the piers, their capitals, and arch-mouldings; and these latter are fortunately left in so perfect a condition, that little doubt can remain as to the nature of these members of the ground-story of the nave.

This north-west crossing pier has, on its west side, the half of a cylindrical pillar, corresponding, no doubt, with the cylindrical piers of the east of the nave; and the capital which it carries is similar, in all probability, to those of the remaining circular piers which are destroyed.



North-west crossing pier, west side.

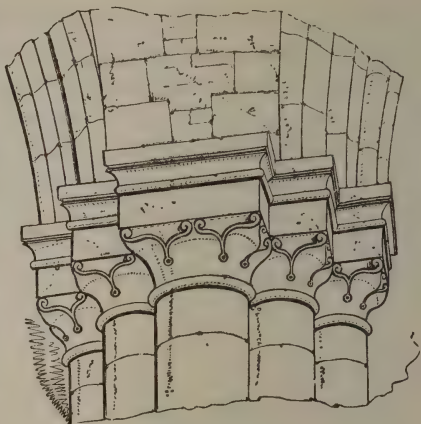


Ditto, north side.

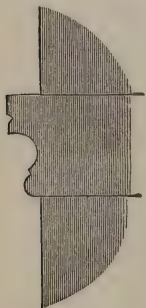
On its north side, this same pier has a cluster of shafts, carrying the arch which separates the north transept from the north aisle of the nave, which, making allowance for the difference of site, probably correspond in their general character, in the same way with the alternate clustered piers of the nave.

If to these two authorities we add that afforded us by the perfect piers of the north and south transepts, which present a cluster of eight shafts, corresponding with those in the alternate piers of the nave, we shall have a tolerably perfect conception of what this part of the ground-story of

the nave was like. In these examples there are three features which strongly mark their transitional character: the first is the occurrence of a square abacus, carrying the profile, so common in this period, and which is used as frequently in the string-courses and hood-moulds, as in this position, and which occurs again in the latter form in the transept arches:



Piers in transepts.



Hood-mould of nave, arches, and S. doorway

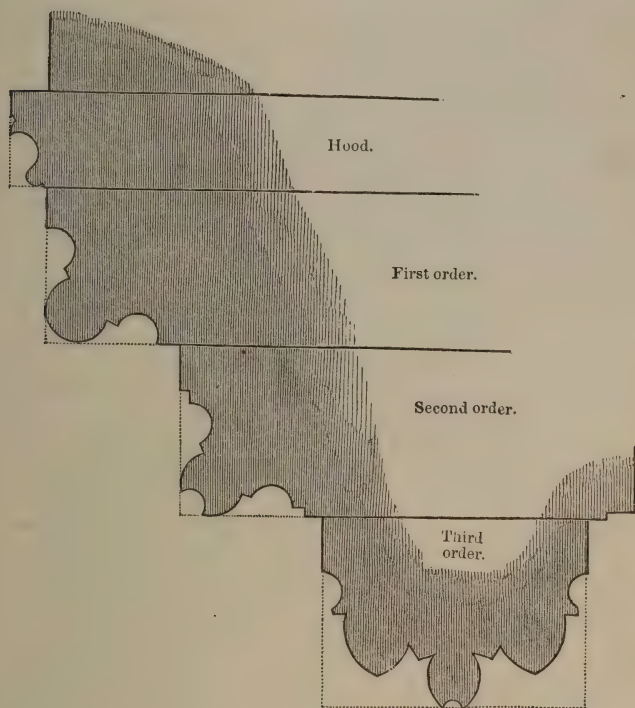
the second is the shape of the capital itself, which shews under this abacus a square block, hollowed down to the circular shaft below, a form quite peculiar to the period: and the third is the nature of the only carved ornament which is displayed on these capitals, and which consists of a plain leaf, enclosing the neck of the capital, and finished at each corner with a curled end, resembling a volute: an ornament of peculiar character, which was in use for a period of about twenty years only, at most, and which serves therefore to identify the date of the building still more closely.

The mouldings of the arches carried by these capitals have precisely that profile which we are accustomed to look for in works of this period. They consist of three orders, and a hood-mould of the form already referred to.¹ These mouldings, whilst they are disposed after the square form of Norman mouldings, have lost all the heaviness of the latter, and exhibit a considerable advance in the art; the second order exhibits in its centre moulding a form sufficient in itself to mark the date of the building; it consists of a cylindrical roll, having its outermost portion cut out by the intersection, as it were, of another cylinder. The same thing occurs in a pointed roll in the third order; and again in the second order of the north doorway.²

¹ See wood-cut, p. 363.

² See wood-cut, p. 364.

On reviewing these principal elements in the construction of the ornamental portion of the design of this fine building, we cannot fail of being struck with their extreme



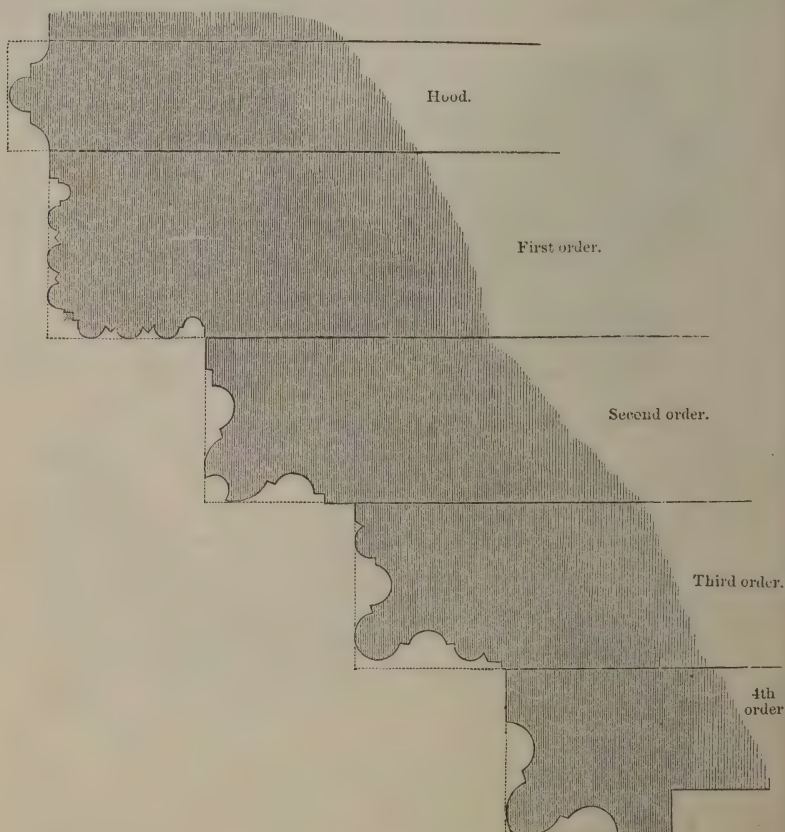
Mouldings of pier-arches in transepts.

and truly Cistercian simplicity, and with the excellent effect produced by the proportionate fitness of their minutest details.

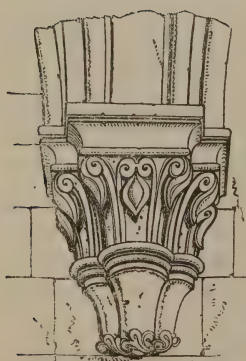
All that can be said of the triforium or blind-story at present, is that it consisted, in the transepts at least, of one large circular arch, covering, in all probability, two smaller ones; these were, however, obliterated when the rectilinear windows were inserted in the walls; and all that can now be seen of them, is a portion of the outer arch-moulding, which, if further uncovered, would probably shew a profile of similar character to that of the pier-arches. The prosecution of a further investigation in this matter would be a matter of interest.

The clerestory windows were like the aisle-windows,

broad, plain, and circular, with plain splayed jambs, and a simple hood-moulding.



Arch mouldings of north doorway.



Corbel of vaulting, south aisle.

The vaulting of the side-aisles was carried on single shafts,—of which an example remains in the south aisle; on triple shafts,—of which the remains are visible in the north aisle; and on corbels,—of which an example, containing an instance of early plain foliage, is left towards the west end of the south aisle.

The principal string-course consisted of a round



moulding on a flat surface, with a hollow above and below.

Having thus restored, as it were, from the data which remain, an entire compartment of the nave, we may—after contemplating for a moment, in imagination, the effect that the restored series of compartments, as seen from the great arch of the west tower, would present—turn our attention to such subordinate features of the building as formed part of the original design.

Of these, the most important and interesting is the north doorway in the north transept, represented in the accompanying plate (see plate XXIX).

This doorway contains within itself many of the principal features of the building, and the period to which it belongs. The pier arches are represented in the splendid series of richly clustered but simple mouldings of four orders of which the arch is formed, and which may be advantageously compared with those before given: the piers themselves, and their capitals, are seen on a smaller scale in those forming the jamb of the doorway, the latter carrying the same square abacus, square block, and voluted leaf, which are seen in the former; and the whole design presents as agreeable a specimen of the ornate work of this period as exists in the kingdom.

What may have been the character of the western entrance, the construction of the tower has put it out of our power to conjecture. The south doorway, however, opening as usual at the east end of the south aisle into the cloister, is of plain design; consisting of a few large plain mouldings, carried down without shafts or capitals to the ground.

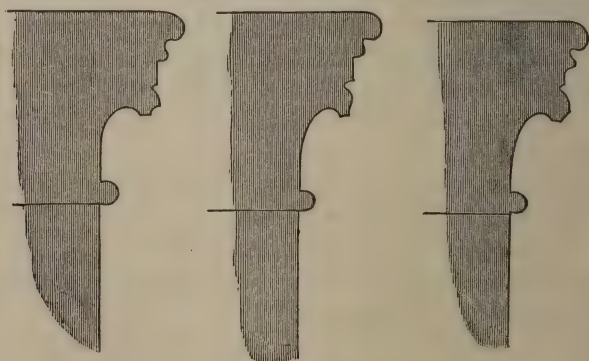
Before leaving the church it will be necessary to notice the flight of stairs (h) in the south transept, which is invariably found in Cistercian churches, and which afforded access for the monks during the nocturnal hours of service, from the dormitory to the church.

Leaving then the later chancel and tower for future remarks, we issue from the church by the south doorway, the ordinary entrance of the monks during the daytime, and find ourselves on the site of the destroyed cloister; and taking a few steps along its eastern wall, we come to the entrance of the

III. CHAPTER HOUSE, which is approached by an archway of a character similar to that of the north doorway, but somewhat more advanced, having on each side an arch of almost similar design. These three archways (i i i) are found in the same position in most Cistercian convents. The exact use of the compartments or cells, to which those on the north and the south sides lead, is somewhat doubtful. Inasmuch, however, as the sacristy, absolutely indispensable, was almost invariably situated between the south transept and the chapter-house, the vaulted cell on the north side of the chapter-house was in the present case probably its site, whilst that on the south side was probably a penitential cell.

The vestibule to the chapter-house, and the chapter-house itself (i), are very elegant specimens of the architecture of the succeeding or lancet period; to which period also the whole of the adjoining building, the common refectory (κ), and the intervening passage (k), entirely belong. The difference of treatment exhibited in the details of these two contemporaneous buildings, is remarkable.

In the chapter-house and its vestibule we find the greatest care and elegance displayed, in the plan of the light clustered shafts; the arrangement of the deeply moulded arches; the sculpture of the simple foliage, distributed, however,



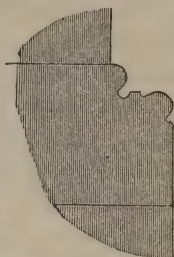
Arcade in Vestibule of Chapter-house.

so sparingly; the disposition of the numerous shafts and corbels; and the remarkable variety in the profiles of the different mouldings. The elegant trefoiled arcade

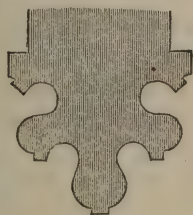
in the vestibule has small shafts carrying delicately moulded Purbeck capitals, having profiles differing from one another, but strongly characteristic of the period.

The Chapter-house is lighted by double lancet windows, which on the inside have an arch thrown over them, with foliated circles in the spandrel.

The vaulting of this graceful apartment consisted of twelve simple quadripartite vaults, carried on two rows of light clustered shafts.



String-course.



Diagonal rib.



Transverse rib.

A large quantity of the debris, consisting principally of the rib-mouldings of this vaulting, which fell down half a century ago, lies on the floor of the now

roofless building; the profiles of these ribs and the string-courses, shew very elegant and characteristic curves.

IV. THE COMMON REFECTORY. As is usually the case, this building is remarkable for the almost entire absence of ornament; it is a long apartment, with a row of plain octagonal pillars down the middle, carrying a series of plain quadripartite vaults, resting on equally plain corbels. This apartment usually corresponded in all these particulars with the hospitium and guest-house on the opposite side of the quadrangle.

Between the penitential cell and the common refectory, there was usually a passage to the offices at the back; which is also found here. The entrance from the cloister to this passage, as well as that to the refectory, consists of a large enriched circular arch, similar in character to the three already described; the whole five standing in immediate contiguity and forming a fine series, in which a certain advance of style in those lying to the southwards, is clearly perceptible.

Retracing our steps, now, along the east walk of the cloister, entering the church again by the south doorway, and turning into the south transept (G), we ascend the

flight of steps (h) leading into the upper part of the buildings we have been examining below. On reaching the top of the stairs, and passing through a doorway in the south wall of the transept, we find ourselves in a broad passage, situated over the vestibule to the chapter-house and the cells adjoining. On the east side of this passage, and immediately over the Chapter-house, lies

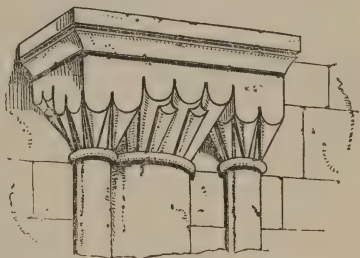
V. THE SCRIPTORIUM, or library of the convent; a low chamber, corresponding in extent with the Chapter-house, and lighted with broad single lancet windows. On the south side of the passage, and immediately over the long common refectory, is situated

VI. THE DORMITORIUM, or common dormitory of the monks; lighted also on both sides like the others, with single lancet windows, and covered originally with a timber roof. Neither of these latter buildings exhibit ornamented shafts, vaulting, or mouldings of any kind.

Having now completed our survey of the east side of the cloister quadrangle, we have, on turning to the other two sides, little left but foundation walls to guide us in our further restoration. This is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as some of the largest and most interesting buildings of the convent were usually placed on these sides. Of these the most important was

VII. THE HOSPITIUM, or Guest-house (τ), which formed the west side of the quadrangle, and extended from the south side of the church to a considerable distance, frequently beyond the whole of the other attached buildings. In Fountains abbey it is no less than two hundred and seventy feet in length. It is right to explain, that a very general supposition prevails that the building marked *n* on the plan, was the hospitium of Furness abbey; but there appears to be no sufficient ground for assigning so remote and unusual a site to the hospitium; nor can we do so, simply from the circumstance of the apparent size and importance of this building (*n*), and the difficulty of assigning to it a better designation. In order, however, that no doubt might remain that a building of the usual character existed at Furness on the very site on which the hospitium invariably occurs in the other Cistercian abbeys, excavations have been made on the south side of the church, amongst the rubbish which is there heaped against the

western-most compartment, a few days previous to the visit of the Association; which have brought to light the remains of a portion of vaulting, a central respond shaft, the angle shafts, with their remarkable capitals, and the jamb of the first window of this building, which it is impossible to believe can be any other than the original hospitium of the monastery. From these data, it appears probable that the building was one of the usual character, having a central row of pillars, carrying simple quadripartite vaulting, and in all other respects similar to the hospitium in other Cistercian abbeys. This discovery is the more interesting, as it establishes the fact that the hospitium was at least as early as the Conventual church itself: this supposition is derived from the early character of the capitals of the vaulting shafts at the sides of the building, which consist of a cubical block, with a plain abacus, shaped in its lower part into three distinct capitals, of a form common in late Norman and transitional work, which rest upon three distinct shafts, of which the centre one and largest is engaged in the wall; and the two outer and smaller ones stand detached. But for the latter arrangement, we should have been inclined to assign this building to an almost earlier part of the transitional period than the church.



Capital of side shafts in the hospitium.

The further prosecution of this discovery becomes now a matter of interest; for it seems to be most probable that the bases, at least of some, if not of all the central piers of this hall, will be found, if searched for at the proper intervals, and probably more extensive remains of its western wall.¹

¹ Since the above was written, the further prosecution of the discovery above related has been undertaken. On the 27th November, the rev. R. Gwyllim, of Ulverston, having organized a party for the purpose of exploring the site of the supposed hospitium, and having obtained the consent of the earl of Burlington, the noble owner of

the site, to make the necessary excavations, invited the writer of this paper to accompany the party, and to verify his assertion. The imaginary ground-plan of the hospitium having been marked out, the supposed sites of the first three central columns were pegged out, and fixed upon for the commencement of operations. The sod having

The next important building of the cloister court was

VIII. The PRINCIPAL REFECTORY; an apartment usually second only, of the domestic buildings, in point of appearance and workmanship, to the Chapter-house. Of this structure no remains whatever have yet been discovered; it probably however stood on the site marked z. This at all events is its usual position.

IX. THE KITCHEN occupied usually the space intervening between the principal refectory and the common refectory; of these two nothing has hitherto been discovered. Nothing however is more probable than that, if the original level of the cloister court were regained, and the rubbish which now occupies both this quadrangle and the site of their supposed buildings cleared away, not only would

been removed to the extent of six feet square over these centres, which were taken at a distance of 14 feet 2 inches from one another, a mixed party, consisting of excavators, clergymen, and amateurs, commenced the search; and in the course of an hour, and at a depth of six feet from the surface, their Californian assiduity was rewarded by the discovery, in succession—I, of the bases of the three piers, standing *in situ*; II, of the original stone floor of the building; and III, of the broken half of one of the capitals of the central piers. Subsequently, the floor of the building was cleared next the church, and the bases of the shafts, above described, laid bare; a portion also of the west wall of the building was traced for a short distance, and the lower part of the window, its jamb, and the string-course below it were discovered. Lastly, as it was now proved that 14 feet 4 inches was the real distance from centre to centre of the compartments, a venture was made at a distance of 215 feet, or fifteen compartments, from the south wall of the church, and in a direct line with the discovered piers, to ascertain whether any traces of the building existed to this extent; and exactly below the spot indicated, was discovered an octagonal column, standing *in situ*. Whether this column forms part of the same, or an additional building, appears at present to be somewhat doubtful: the discovery, however, of so

much as is now brought to light, enables us to restore with tolerable certainty the general plan and sections of the building; and fully justifies the prosecution of the excavations, to the extent of laying bare the whole of the floor, and so much of the walls as remain. It seems extremely probable, that in carrying out this search, many important discoveries will be made: such as the discovery of considerable portions of the west wall, with the bases of its respond shafts, string-courses, and window-sills; the discovery of portions of the central piers, their shafts, bases, and capitals, complete; and remains of the capitals of the side shafts; as well as portions of the vaulting ribs.

That these discoveries are not improbable, may be concluded from the circumstance, that the recent excavation leaves little or no doubt, that the building lies now as it originally fell, and that it has not been since disturbed. It appeared, moreover, from the existence, in those parts of the floor that were uncovered, of a layer of black charred matter, which was composed of burnt timber and other combustible materials, that the interior of the building, and probably all it contained, had been fired before it fell. The entire mass below the soil consists of the *debris* of the building, and the depth from the surface of the ground to the floor varies from five to six feet.

the foundations, if not part of the walls of these buildings, reappear, but the breadth of the cloister itself, its pavement, and its inner wall, be discovered.

We have now to turn to those additional buildings which remain, that formed no part of the general plan of the collection of the principal buildings round the cloister quadrangle. Of these the most interesting is the building standing to the south of the common refectory marked o on the plan, and which has generally gone by the name of the school-house. That it was a chapel of some kind there can be little doubt, not only on account of its being placed east and west, and of its having a large east window; but because it has a double piscina of very elegant and unusual character, which at once denotes its character. It forms, together with a smaller building adjoining its north side,—the object and use of which it appears difficult to discover,—the eastern termination of a long and apparently handsome apartment (N), of considerable size and pretension, which must have ranked amongst the most important buildings of the convent. This circumstance, as well as the evident connexion between the two buildings, disposes me to consider them to be

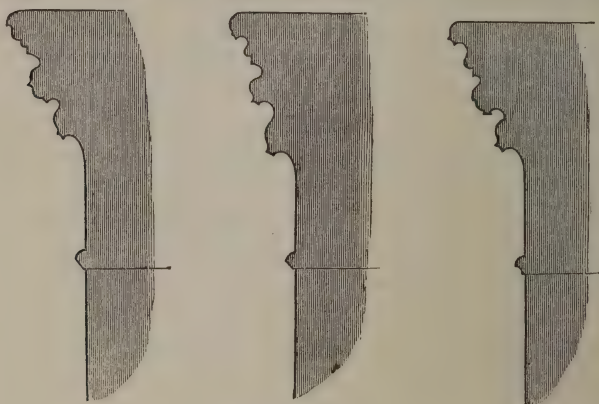
X. THE INFIRMARY (N) and

XI. THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL (O). They both belong to the geometrical period, and are very remarkable examples. The chapel, with the exception of the east window, is in a tolerably perfect state for a ruin, and the whole of its elegant vaulting remains entire. Over the chapel was an upper apartment, of which little more than the walls remains. The most characteristic and original feature of the building, as it now stands, is the design of the tracery of the side windows, which are of two lights, covered by a straight-sided arch, containing the description of tracery usually denominated cusp-tracery, of simple geometrical character.



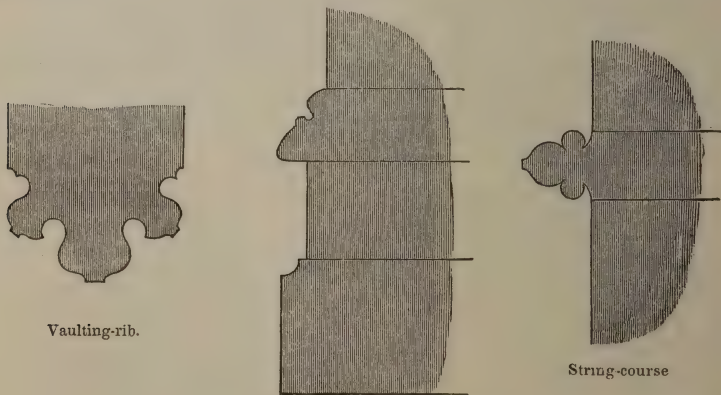
Side windows in infirmary chapel.

The whole of the mouldings of this building and its adjoining neighbour are of a very graceful character, and the



Vaulting shaft capitals.

profiles of the three capitals, and the string-course, which are here given, contain curves as characteristic of their period as those of the three capitals in the vestibule of the chapter-house, with which it will be interesting to compare them.



Vaulting-rib.

String-course

Base of shafts.

The vaulting, which has a span of twenty feet, is admirably constructed, and carries a rib moulding of good profile, which, as well as that of the string-course, may also be compared with those of the chapter house (see p. 367). What remains of the infirmary itself, leads us to

regret that more is not left : little more than the east wall, carrying on its upper part a fine arcade, on small triple shafts, with three good doorways below, has been preserved. A brook, running the whole length of the infirmary, passes under the chapel, and joins the main stream of the valley in front of the east window.

Of the various fragments of offices which lie at the back of the common refectory, and on the opposite side of the brook, much might be conjectured, with a greater or less degree of plausibility. They are none of them essential to the plan of a Cistercian monastery, and scarcely on other accounts worthy of more than a passing notice. Of the whole of these, one marked Q on the plan, presents some elegant fragments of lancet work.

There remains still one small building of some interest to notice ; this is

XII. The GATEWAY CHAPEL, a ground-plan of which is given in the general plan (x), where it is improperly called the abbot's chapel. It belongs to the early part of the geometrical period : the east window is gone, but the two-light side windows exhibit one of the earliest examples of nascent tracery, consisting of a simple foliated circle, carried by two foliated lancets. It contains also three sedilia, and a piscina, of equally early workmanship.

We have yet to make mention of the works that were commenced apparently in the fifteenth century, on a scale and of a character equal to those of any earlier period, at the east and west ends of the conventual church. They consisted of a considerable enlargement of the choir, and the construction of a gigantic tower at the west end of the nave.

The former comprised a noble rectilinear east window of great size, of which nothing now but the opening is left ; two handsome and lofty side windows ; and a magnificent series of canopied recesses, serving for the sedilia and piscina, which, for excellence of design and workmanship, may be said to be unsurpassed.

The tower, so far as it has ascended,—and it is doubtful whether it was ever carried much higher,—is commenced on a plan of unusual grandeur. This will be best understood, when it is explained that the height of its base-course is no less than sixteen feet. The whole of its

mouldings, and those of the west and east windows, are bold and fine examples; and the whole of the details are of corresponding character.

In concluding this hasty sketch of these interesting ruins, it would be an injustice to the native material of which they are built, and to the judgment with which it has been selected, to omit to notice the remarkable state of preservation in which all the ornamental parts of the work remain, up to the present time. The greater part of the capitals, mouldings, and carved work, are as fresh as they were the day they were quarried; and although taken from the bright red sandstone of the district, a material never looked upon as possessed of much durability, so carefully has the stone been selected and set, that time and exposure seem to have made little or no impression upon them.¹

ON THE BADGES OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

BY J. R. PLANCHE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at Lancaster, Tuesday, Aug. 20, 1850.)

LITTLE as is the authentic information we possess respecting heraldry in general, our knowledge of that very interesting and curious portion of it, the badges of our royal and noble families, is still more limited. Whilst scores of volumes have been written respecting the armorial shields of the sovereigns, barons, and knights of England, no author has treated critically the subject of badges; and but one (Mr. Williment, in his *Regal Heraldry*) pre-

¹ For the illustration of this paper the use of a plate, selected from Mr. Beck's *History of Furness*, showing the general ground-plan, and another of the north doorway (from which a reduced copy has been made), have been kindly accorded by Mr. Soulby, of Ulverston,

the proprietor of the whole of the remaining copies of that valuable work; which, from the care and diligence with which the documentary evidence has been collected, and the admirable nature of the illustrations, may be looked upon as a model for all local histories.





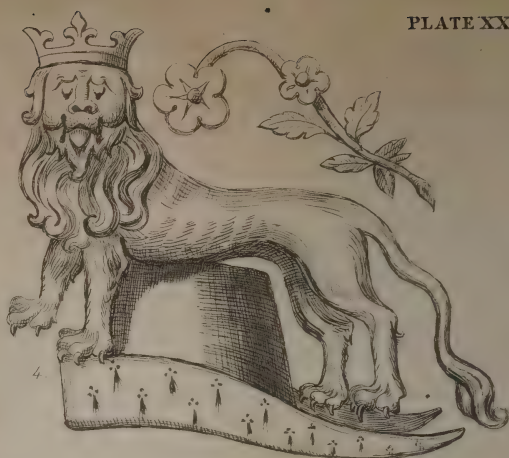
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2.



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7.



10.



9.

sented us with an indiscriminate collection of those said to have been assumed at various periods by the members of the blood royal only. I must, therefore, preface the remarks I shall have the honour to make to you on the present occasion, by requesting your attention to an important object in all such investigations—the separation of assertions unsupported by facts established by existing memorials or unquestionable contemporary authority. The great labour of the modern archæologist is to *unlearn*—to avoid repeating the errors of others. To give confidence to his hearers or readers, by the honourable acknowledgment of his ignorance on points respecting which he has been unable to obtain satisfactory data, and not by the oracular proclamation of opinions, which have no foundation in fact. It must be obvious that the cause of science is better served by the honest admission, that a point has yet to be explained, than by assuming it is already so. In a large and mixed assembly, like the present, for one who will critically examine the matter, twenty will take it for granted, and thus the most serious errors may be perpetuated. But some will say, perhaps, you come here to teach us, and you are bound to know, before you pretend to do so. They must permit me to answer, such is not exactly the case. We are here to learn as much as to teach; and the greatest advantage those who take an interest in this pursuit can receive from our coming, is the impetus to inquiry consequent on the discovery of how much is yet to be done in illustration of the history of our native country.

“Crests, badges, devices, and mottos, form”, says an intelligent recent writer, “an interesting though neglected branch of heraldic inquiry. The three last named are often taken to mean the same thing; at least, badges are confounded with devices, and devices with mottos, owing to the confused notions entertained upon the subject by writers on heraldry, who have not sufficiently attended to the distinction made between them in the time when their use generally prevailed.” Badges are also often confounded with crests; but they are a perfectly distinct species of heraldic decoration, and should never be borne on a wreath, because they were never placed on the helmet, of which the wreath was a special ornament.

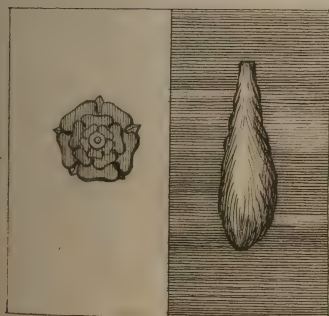
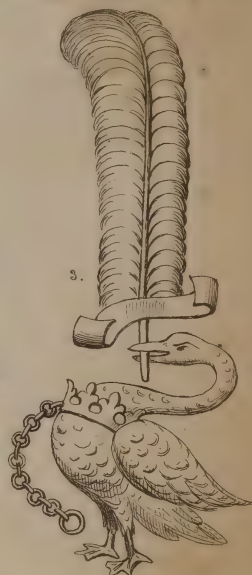
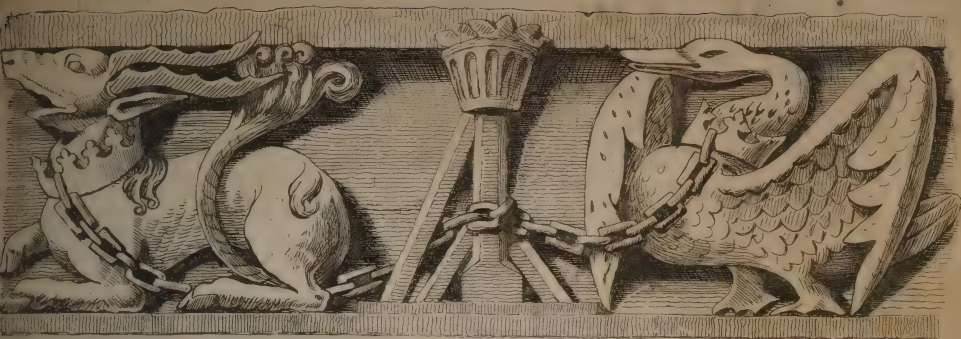
The word “badge” is familiar to us all in its ordinary

acceptation, as a mark or token of anything; but its etymology, like that of so many heraldic terms, is most uncertain. Mr. Lower, in his *Curiosities of Heraldry*, has collected the principal derivations suggested by the philologists, preferring that of Johnson, who derives it from the Italian "bajulo", to carry. The Norman term for it is much more explicit, "le cognoissance"; Anglicised, "cognizance"; and in many instances it was probably the first armorial bearing displayed by the assumer on his shield or banner; but when the heraldic escutcheon became more elaborately charged, convenience, economy, and other obvious reasons, combined to render it necessary to distinguish the retainers and servants of royal, baronial, and knightly personages, by some simple and striking mark of the family to which they belonged. "Might I but know thee by thy household badge," says Clifford to the earl of Warwick, in the second part of *King Henry VI.* This household badge or cognizance was therefore either a figure selected from the family coat, or one quite distinct from it, bearing some obvious allusion either to the name of the owner, or to one of his principal estates or offices; and whilst the banner, shield, and jupon of the knight, and the tabard of his herald, displayed the whole armorial coat, the badge glittered upon the standard and pennoncelle, and on the sleeve, back, or breast, of the soldier, the domestic, or the adherent, sometimes on a ground of the family colours, if the whole dress was not composed of them, and in later times engraved or embossed on metal plates fastened on the arm, as we see the badges now worn by firemen, watermen, postilions, etc. The occasional use of the crest, where families had not assumed a badge, has caused the confusion of these otherwise distinct ensigns, and the modern innovation of embroidering the sleeve or embossing the plate with the entire coat of arms, has increased the difficulty which besets the subject. To the household badge or cognizance properly belonged the "cri de guerre", motto, *mot*, or word of the family, now most absurdly placed under the shield of arms; a situation which, of course, it could never have occupied. The object of both badge and motto was publicity; and herein is the great line of demarcation to be drawn between this sign of company, and the occasional and purely personal heraldic

decoration with which it is so confounded; namely, the device, with its accompanying legend, assumed for the very opposite purpose of mystification, or, at least, of covertly alluding to the immediate motive or sentiments of the bearer. Both the badge and the device are occasionally termed "a rebus"; but the epithet is more strictly applicable to the latter, as it was, in fact, a pictured riddle, or "painted metaphor", as Dallaway calls it; and its legend was emphatically described by the French as "l'âme du devise", the soul or spirit of the device. The extravagance of fancy displayed in some of these emblematical decorations amounts sometimes to the ridiculous: with such, however, we have nothing to do at present, beyond this general definition, which is necessary for their separation in your minds from the legitimate object of our consideration, the household badges or family cognizances of the royal line of Lancaster.

The catalogue of royal badges which has been frequently printed, and most commonly followed without question, is found in various manuscripts in the College of Arms, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library; but the date of these manuscripts is, in no instance, earlier than the fifteenth century; and though there is no reason to question the existence of many of the cognizances therein enumerated, there is no satisfactory information touching their origin, or consistent explanation of their meaning. Sir Henry Ellis communicated, several years ago, to the Society of Antiquaries, a paper containing a list of the badges of the house of York, copied from a manuscript of the time of Henry VI, in the Digby Collection in the Bodleian, marked No. 82, which appears to have been the authority, as far as it goes, for some of the later manuscripts alluded to; and sir Henry prefaces the list by the wish, that "we could discover another such memorandum, explaining the badges of the house of Lancaster". Although not in a collective form, they are to be found recorded in various documents of nearly as early a date, and with pretty much the same "*explanation*" attached to them, if the most contradictory and unsupported assertions can be called explanation. Mr. Williment, Mr. Montague, and others, have gathered them together to the number of a dozen, viz., a red rose, a swan, an antelope, the root of a

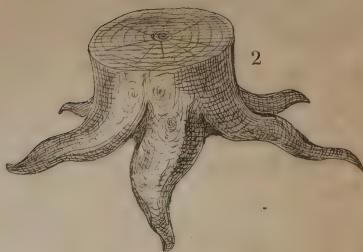
tree, an ostrich feather, ermine, a fox's tail or brush, a crescent, a cresset or beacon, an eagle or falcon, a padlock or fetterlock, a gennet, and a panther. This catalogue is quite as complete as that furnished of the house of York; the value of which has yet to be tested, for the omission of several well-known badges of that house will either tell for or against its accuracy, as the case may turn out. Even contemporary documents are not to be credited implicitly. Errors and wilful misrepresentations were made in the olden time as well as now; and in such matters as those under consideration, the grossest mistakes were sometimes perpetrated, the most unfounded assertions promulgated. We will commence our examination with the most familiar of the Lancasterian badges, "the red rose". In the York list just mentioned, we find it stated that the white rose of that house was borne as representing the castle or honour of Clifford: "The bages that he bearyth by the castle of Clifford is a white rose." And sir Henry Ellis suggests that "the red rose had most probably a similar origin, and was, perhaps, nothing more than an ancient tenure". I agree with sir Henry as to the probability; but in order to judge from analogy, it would be necessary to ascertain how the white rose was connected with the castle of Clifford, and to reconcile that statement with the contradictory one of other writers, who assert that the white rose was the badge of Mortimer, earl of March; and that riddle is yet to read. In a manuscript in the College of Arms, as late as the reign of Henry VII, a red rose is surmounted by the word "Richmond"; and a member of that College, to whose kindness I have been frequently indebted, suggested to me that the red rose might have been a badge of the honour of Richmond, which was actually possessed by John of Gaunt, he having been created earl of Richmond Sept. 20, 1342. But the appearance of the rose on the seal of Henry I, duke of Lancaster, who never enjoyed that honour (vide pl. xxx, fig. 4), militates against that otherwise most probable solution. Camden also, in his chapter on impresses, says: "Edmund Crouchback, second son of Henry III, first earl of Lancaster, took a red rose, wherewith his tombe at Westminster is adorned". I regret to say, I have been unable to discover any traces of roses upon the monument of Edmund Crouchback at West-







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CHARLES DAILY, F.S.A. 1851

LANCASTER HOUSE



minster, unless the small floral ornaments between the ribs of the arch can be those he alludes to, in which case I cannot conceive them to have any heraldic signification, as they are commonly found in architecture of that period. There may have been, however, paintings on the tomb in Camden's time, which are no longer discernible; and he afterwards tells us John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took a red rose to his device, as it were by right of his wife, the heir of Lancaster, as Edmund of Langley, duke of York, took the white rose. Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, quotes this latter portion: but neither he nor Camden appear to have known, or, if they did know, to have credited, that the white rose of York was a sign of the tenure of that honour by the castle or tower of Clifford. There is yet a third derivation of the rival roses, handed down to us by a writer who had, no doubt, some popular tradition for his groundwork. It occurs in the first part of the historical play of *King Henry VI*, and the scene is laid in the Temple Gardens, London, where Richard Plantagenet, afterwards duke of York, and John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, are made to speak as follows:—

Plantagenet. “Let him that is a true-born gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this briar pluck a white rose with me.

Somerset. Let him that is no coward, nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.”

Upon which Warwick, Vernon, and the lawyer, gather white roses, and Suffolk a red rose; and Warwick prophesies—

“——— This brawl to-day,
Grown to this faction in the Temple Gardens,
Shall send, between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and endless night.”

Now it appears to me, that whether this scene be founded on history or tradition, it does not affect the *origin* of the badges of York and Lancaster; but simply the selection of those particular cognizances as signs of company for the partizans of the rival houses in the fatal war that followed. There is not a line throughout the scene

which can be taken as intending to shew that these badges were then for the *first time* assumed. Richard Plantagenet, as grandson of Edmund Langley, duke of York, naturally proposes that those who think with him should signify their opinion by adopting the badge of his house which is by accident blooming beside him. John Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, as naturally selects the badge of his family, the red rose, as the token of adherence to his side of the question. The scene, if entirely the invention of Shakespere, is, like all his inventions, full of truth and character; and, in any case, testifies to the pre-existence of those family cognizances, rather than to their derivation from this accident. But there is a passage in another scene of this play which deserves notice, and rather involves the question. It is in the fourth act, when the demand for trial by combat is made to Henry VI by Vernon and Basset. In that scene the king says, putting on a *red* rose :

“ I see no reason, if I wear this rose,
That any one should therefore be suspicious
I more incline to Somerset than York.”

And after the king's exit, York, in answer to Warwick, says :

“ ————— I like it not,
In that he (the king) wears *the badge of Somerset.*”

Now this is worthy of remark, because the author of these lines (whether Shakespere or not, for, as you know, that point is disputed)—the author, I say, whoever he was, lived at a period when many men, if they could not themselves remember the wars of the Roses, had heard their fathers, who had actually fought in them, tell the story of the quarrel; and yet the red rose is not called the badge of Lancaster, but distinctly that of Somerset. King Henry does not claim any connection with it; he adopts it as an indifferent ornament, deprecates the idea of being supposed to incline to Somerset on that account, and after his departure no plea is set up for him by his apologist on the ground that it was one of his own family cognizances, and might therefore be borne by him without offence to York, or pledging him in any way to support the cause of Somerset.

Let us now go back and see where the rose first appears as

a royal badge. On the seal of William Rufus, two floral ornaments are seen within circles, one on each side of the figure of the enthroned sovereign. (Pl. xxx, figs. 1, 2.) Neither, I confess, can be said greatly to resemble a rose. Each has five leaves, those of one being indented round the edges, while those of the other are plain. The seal of Henry I presents us with a quaterfoil having petals between the leaves, and less like a rose than either of the two former. (Pl. xxx, fig. 3.) No floral emblems occur on the seals of Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, John, or Henry III; and the legend of the seal of Edward I is divided only by a fleur-de-lys. A manuscript in the Harleian Collection, No. 304, asserts that "Edward I, after the conquest, gave as a badge a rose, *gold*, the stalk, *vert*;" but no authority is quoted for the statement. On the reverse of his private seal is the figure of a bear, standing against a tree; but no instance of a rose occurs in any relic of this sovereign that I have met with. The seals of Edward II are equally barren of information on this point. But on one of his queen, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV, king of France, a rose is visible on each side of an escutcheon of her arms, dimidiated with those of her husband. (Plate xxx, fig. 5.) To Edward III a host of badges and devices have been ascribed, on more or less foundation; but the sun-beams issuing from clouds, mentioned by Camden, is the only one for which there is positive authority. The wardrobe accounts of this magnificent monarch contain many entries of singular ornaments, embroidered upon the royal habits for the masque or the tournament, and amongst them we find mention of both *white* and *red* roses; but it may be questioned if they are heraldic any more than the other ornaments enumerated. A large bed for William of Windsor, the king's son, is ordered to be made of *green* taffeta, embroidered with *red* roses, figures, and serpents. A "halling", that is, a suit of hangings for a hall, is ordered for the lady Joan the king's daughter, of worsted, worked with popinjays, and another with roses, the colour not mentioned. For the jousts, at Lichfield, a harness was made for the king's person, powdered with roses and other work of silk; but, as on this occasion the harness is distinctly stated to have been of the arms of sir Thomas de Braderton, which the king had for some reason assumed, it is probable the roses had also a reference to the knight

so honoured. The king in another hastilude at Windsor wore the arms of sir Stephen de Cosyngton, which were *azure*, three roses, *argent*. A harness was made "of *blue* velvet, with a pall of *red* velvet, and within the said pall a *white* rose" for the king's hastilude at Windsor; but here again we are left in doubt as to the reference of the *white* rose, as this garment was made expressly to be worn by "the Lord David, king of Scotland".

We next arrive at the reign of Richard II, whose effigy in Westminster Abbey is covered with royal badges, but the rose is not amongst them. The legend on his great seal, however, is divided by two crowns, a hand, and underneath the hand a rose (pl. xxx, fig. 6); yet if it be a cognizance, why not also include in the list the hand and the two crowns? Henry IV appears to have used the same seal with a new inscription; but, at all events, we have now reached the reign of the first sovereign of the house of Lancaster, without distinctly recognizing a rose as the badge of a king of England.

Having thus placed the facts of the case before you, I may perhaps be permitted to express an opinion, the value of which you must yourselves decide. The assertion in the Harleian MS., No. 304, that Edward I. gave a rose, *gold*, the stalk, *vert*, is, as I have stated, unsupported by any authority known at present to exist by those who have written on the subject; but there are several reasons for our believing the assertion has some foundation in fact. The mother of Edward I was Eleanor of Provence, and I am strongly inclined to believe we are indebted to that land of song and chivalry, not only for the fragrant "*rosa centifolia*" which perfumes our gardens, but also for the floral emblem of the house of Lancaster. The tomb of her second son, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, is stated by Camden to have been in his day adorned with *red* roses, the difference of colour being a usual heraldic distinction. To his children, Thomas and Henry, the county of Provence descended by grant from the said Eleanor their grandmother, and her grant was confirmed to Henry earl of Lancaster by king Edward III, in the ninth year of his reign. On the seal of Henry I, duke of Lancaster, the son of Henry, earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, and Provence, a branch of roses is placed beside his crest of a lion. The duke's

eldest daughter, Maud, married William, the fifth duke of Bavaria, earl of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, but died without issue; and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, assumed the *red* rose in right of his wife Blanch, the younger daughter and co-heiress of Henry. The county was claimed by John of Gaunt during the reign of Joan I of Naples, in the right of Eleanor, from whom he had descended, and of the heir of Henry, duke of Lancaster, whom he had married. He bequeaths however, in 1397, to the altar of St. Paul's cathedral, his great bed of cloth of gold, powdered with *golden* roses; and Humphry de Bohun, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the First, bequeaths to his sister, the countess of Devonshire, a *green* bed powdered with *red* roses. Now, though we do not find the title of earl of Provence assumed by the first two dukes of Lancaster, the badge might still be borne by all the family as a mark of maternal descent, at the same time that the sovereigns of England would hold it secondary in importance to such other cognizances as appertained expressly to the throne they occupied, or to their own matrimonial alliances or territorial pretensions. In this way, whilst the fourth, fifth, and sixth Henrys, the son, grandson, and great grandson of Blanch of Lancaster, might make a greater display of swans, antelopes, etc., the rose of Provence might have been retained by the Beauforts and Somersets, in token of their descent from John of Gaunt, the husband of Blanch, in preference to the favourite cognizances borne by their half-brethren, to whom had been strictly limited the right of succession to the crown of England. The re-assumption of the *red* rose by the whole line, would have been naturally influenced by the display of the *white* rose of York; and the fact of the livery colour of the Plantagenets being *white* and *red*, rendered the opposing hues of the rival flowers most singularly applicable to the division of the family. I am afraid you will think I have said too much to you "under the rose", but I shall be much less diffuse on the other badges, their origin being either more obvious, or at present defying all speculation.

The swan, *argent*, collared and chained, *or*, is derived, according to all genealogists, from the family of the De Bohuns; Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, after-

wards Henry IV, having married Mary de Bohun, youngest daughter and co-heir of Humphrey earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Here we are all agreed : but whence did the De Bohuns derive the swan ? A manuscript, of the time of Henry VII, in the Harleian Collection, in the list of badges of Henry V, says : " Also he gave the swan, as his father did by the earldom of Hereford". This is not correct, I imagine. The swan was undoubtedly the badge of the De Bohuns (pl. xxx, fig. 8) ; but not as earls of Hereford, but of Essex, they having received it from the Mandevilles, or Magnavillas, earls of Essex, to whom they had succeeded, by the marriage of Maud Fitzpiers, granddaughter and heiress of Beatrice, sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, with Humphrey de Bohun, the fifth of that name, earl of Hereford. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester and earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III, was also earl of Essex and Northampton, in right of his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, the eldest sister of Mary, who married Henry Bolingbroke ; and his seal is diapered with swans and ostrich feathers. Their daughter Anne became countess of Stafford ; and in this way the swan became an heraldic symbol of that house. But we have to go a step higher yet. The Mandevilles and the Nevils appear to have had a common ancestor in Adam Fitz Swanne, the son, as his name imports, of Swanne, or Swanus (perhaps originally Sweyn or Swayn, a common Danish name), who was seised of large estates in the north of England, temp. William the Conqueror, and, amongst others, of Hornby, in the county of Lancaster. Emma de Mandeville, who was the second wife of Robert Fitz Maldred, who married the heiress of the Nevils, and assumed their name, calls in her charta Ranulph de Nevil her lord, and founds a perpetual mass for his soul in the abbey of Staindrop ; and the seal of Cecilia de Nevil, who married Richard, duke of York, has a swan, bearing on its breast the shield of York, impaling Nevil (pl. xxxii, fig. 3). Thus we find the swan holding its stately course down the stream of time, as the arms of the Mandevilles, the badge of the Nevils, the De Bohuns, and the royal house of Lancaster. The crest of the Staffords, the Buckinghams, the Beauchamps, the Bouchiers, and a host of noble families, derived from them to the present day. I cannot conclude

this notice of the swan without alluding to the circumstance, often mentioned, of Edward III having caused to be made for one of his hastiludes, A.D. 1348, a harness of white buckram, tinselled with silver, and the tunic and shield worked with the king's motto,—

“ Hay, Hay the white swan,
By God's soul I am thy man.

This has been considered by some writers as a challenge or defiance: on the contrary, it is an expression of homage, “I am thy man” being the words always used in the performance of that act; and this motto was doubtlessly assumed by the king, in compliment to some queen of beauty, presiding or present at that tournament, whose cognizance was “the white swan”. It is worth notice also, that swans with ladies' heads formed the border of a hall of tapestry, bequeathed by Edward the Black Prince to the church of Canterbury.

The third badge on our list is the antelope, “a beast”, says sir William Segar, “belonging from antiquity to the house of Lancaster”. What a pity he, like so many other writers of his time, did not condescend to give us his authority for such an assertion; for Mr. Williment, in his *Regal Heraldry*, conjectures that the antelope, as well as the swan, was derived from the De Bohuns, in which case the house of Lancaster could have no right to it previous to the marriage of Henry Bolingbroke to his first wife, Mary De Bohun. Mr. Williment's opinion is founded, with some reason, on the assertion, that at the meeting of king Henry VIII and the emperor Maximilian, before Touraine, 11th of August 1513, Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, heir general to Eleanor De Bohun, appeared “in purple satin, his apparell and his barde” (*i.e.* the housings of his horse) “full of antelopes and swans of fine gold bullion”. “The antelopes”, he adds, “still remain on the gates of Maxtoke Castle”. These circumstances, coupled with the account of the duel between Henry Bolingbroke and the duke of Norfolk, in Richard II's time, when Henry entered the lists at Coventry, his horse caparisoned with blue and green velvet, embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes of goldsmith's work, appear certainly to connect the antelope with the De Bohuns; as we find it always in company with the swan,

which they had derived from the Mandevilles. The antelope was perhaps their own immediate cognizance, as it afterwards became a supporter of the arms of their principal descendants:—of Katharine, queen of Henry V; of their eldest son, king Henry VI; of John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, his brothers. For the conveyance of king Henry the Fifth's body to England, the coursers are said to have been trapped with trappers of party colours: one side was blue velvet, embroidered with antelopes drawing in mills; the other side was green velvet, embroidered with antelopes sitting on stires (*sic*), with long flowers springing between the horns. This last peculiarity appears, I think, on the seal of queen Katharine before mentioned, unless it be the mere ornament of the ground on which the supporter is placed (plate xxx, fig. 9). On the original derivation of this badge I will not hazard a speculation. But I must mention, as a curious fact, that Menestrier has engraved the arms of Philippe le Bel, king of France, father of Isabel, queen of Edward II, and mother of Edward III, as they were painted, with others, on an old house in the valley of Quetas, in the representation of a tournament given on the occasion of the marriage of the baron de Faussigny with Marie (or Bonne) de Savoie, daughter of Amadeus V, 1282; and that the crest is the head of an antelope (pl. xxx, fig. 10). The fourth and fifth badges I think I can throw a little light upon, which, considering they are a moon and a beacon, they really ought not to require at my hands. Mr. Williment quotes Hollingshed, to prove that Henry IV used the badge of a *crescent* in the year 1400. The passage runs thus: "Henry, having notice of the conspiracy of the earl of Kent, retired from Windsor Castle, upon which the earl went to Sunnings, and declared that Henry of Lancaster was fled, and that king Richard was at Pomfret with a hundred thousand men. To cause his speech the better to be believed, he took away the king's cognizances from them that bare the same, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of *cressents* from the sleeves of the servants of his household; and throwing them away, said that such cognizances were no longer to be borne." Now, if a crescent were so particular a badge of Henry IV, as to be worn upon the sleeves of the servants of his household when he was king of England, it is

singular that it should not be mentioned by any other author, or appear as an heraldic decoration on any monument of his reign. Hollingshed, of course, must have copied somebody: but I am of opinion that for *cressent* we should read *cresset*; for a cresset or beacon was a badge of his son Henry V; and I find it spelt *cressant* in several manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Sir W. Segar says: "Henry V, by reason of his dissolute life in the time of his father's reign, when, after the death of the said king his father, he was anointed monarch of this realm, betook unto him for his badge or cognizance a cresset light, burning, shewing thereby, that although his virtues and good parts had been formerly obscured, and lay as dead coal, wanting lights to kindle it, by reason of tender years and evil company, that notwithstanding he, now being come to his perfect years and riper understanding, had shaken off his evil connexions, and being now in his high imperial throne, that his virtues, which before had lain dead, should now, by his righteous reign, shine as the light of cresset, which is no ordinary light; meaning also that he should be a guide and light to his people, to follow him in all virtue and honor." Now, is it not vexatious, that, instead of a plain reference to a contemporary authority, we should meet with this long-winded tautological specimen of lame English, conveying to us no information on which we can place the least reliance,—the pure invention, probably, of Segar himself, or of some preceding writer, who was unable to account for the origin of the badge. Another herald tells us "that Henry bore the cresset as signifying his sudden and hot alarms in France". The advantage of such contradictory evidence being, the conclusion that neither had the least authority for their statement. I have never yet been able to discover that badges originated in any such conceits. "The cresset with burning fire", according to Harleian MS. 104, "was the badge of the Admiralty". This assertion is probably founded on the fact, that the badge of John Holland, duke of Exeter, was a cresset, as appears by the sarcastic verses, written in the reign of Henry VI, in which it is said, "the fiery cressett hath lost its light", the word "cressett" being superscribed "Exceter"; and in another poem of the same period, dated 1458, in Trinity College, Dublin, we find him alluded to

as “a fyre *cressant* that burneth bright”; affording an example also of the spelling before mentioned.

But the badge of Henry V, as represented on the frieze within the chantry, over his tomb, plate xxxi, fig. 1, is not a cresset, which was a portable light, but a permanent beacon, to which are chained the swan and the antelope; and I know of no other contemporary authority for a cresset as the badge of Henry IV or V, if this be not it. The cresset of the Hollands, earls of Kent, and dukes of Surrey and Exeter, was probably derived from the lordship of Wake, such lights being carried by the watch of the middle ages, and the motto of the Wakes of Somerset being still “*Vigila et ora,*” watch and pray.

The sixth badge is the tree root, *or*; and herein we have an excellent specimen of that species of cognizance which was called a rebus—not one to puzzle, but inform (pl. xxxii, fig. 2). There are those, however, who tell us that Edward III bore the root of a tree, sprouting, to typify “his flourishing issue”. I am not aware of any authority for Edward bearing this badge at all, beyond the assertion here quoted; but the root or stock of a tree is evidently the rebus of the royal manor of Woodstock, at which Edward of Woodstock, son of Edward I, Edward the Black Prince, surnamed also of Woodstock, and Thomas of Woodstock, his brother, sixth and youngest son of Edward III, were born. On the seal of the latter his escutcheons are pendant on branches from the trunk of a tree (plate xxx, fig. 7); and the badge was also borne by John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV, from which circumstance it is called by the French, “*le racine de Bedford*” (plate xxxi, fig. 2). There is no existing example, however, of this badge being borne by any other personage of the house of Lancaster, though it is depicted on the standard of Henry IV, in Harleian MS. 4632, with an assertion, that he “gave the tree rote, *or*” (pl. xxxii, fig. 4).

The next badge on our list is a very singular one. “A fox tail, of its proper colour, dependent”, which Henry IV is said, by Camden and Segar, to have borne,—“following Lysander’s advice, if the lyon’s skin were too short, to piece it out with a fox’s case”. This is a very ingenious explanation of the badge; but that Henry IV, whose title to the crown was more than questionable, should have

assumed a cognizance for the express purpose of showing how much he was indebted to the cunning of the fox for piecing out what he wanted in right of the lion, is not in accordance with his known sagacity. It is much more likely to have been a satirical explanation of the cognizance, by a partizan of Richard II. Mr. Montague, in his *Guide to Heraldry*, says, "this device was derived, I have no doubt, from his maternal ancestors of the house of Lancaster; for in a manuscript in my possession, entitled 'Arms of the Founders of the Garter', there is a representation of a badge of Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster, a square tablet divided into two equal parts by a perpendicular line, and coloured white and blue. In the first, or white compartment, is a red rose, and in the other, the blue, appears a fox's brush, painted in its proper colours"; and in Brooke, *Somerset Herald's Collection*, College of Arms, I find: "The Bohuns, earls of Hereford, bore a fox's tail, coupé, which Henry IV retained as his heir" (pl. xxxi, fig. 4). Monstrelet tells us, that when Henry V entered Rouen, he was accompanied by a page, who rode behind him on a very fine courser, carrying a lance, near to the point of which was fastened the tail of a fox, in manner of a penoncel, which the wise heads saw a great deal in". Walter Hungerford, steward of the household to Henry V, received a grant of the castle and barony of Homet, in Normandy, by the service of providing the king and his heirs, at the castle of Rouen, with a lance, with a fox's tail hanging from it: and a manuscript in the British Museum contains a copy of an information against one Harry Glomyng, haberdasher, for saying that if he were at Rouen with three thousand men he would break the siege, and make them of Rouen dock the king's tail. Elmham, the chronicler, attempts an explanation of the badge, by telling us, that when Henry V kept his Lent in the castle of Kenilworth, he caused an arbour to be planted in the marsh there, for his pleasure amongst the thorns and bushes, where a fox beforehand had harboured, which fox he killed, being a thing then thought to prognosticate that he should expel the crafty deceits of the French king. If Elmham, who was a contemporary writer, has really got hold of the right tale of the fox, there is an end to the assertion that it was a badge of Henry IV; but I can only consider this as another example

of the provoking practice of inventing stories to explain what, to the writer, appeared inexplicable.

A marginal note in the Harleian MS. 4632, says: "Henrye, son to the erle of Derby, fyrst duke of Lancaster, gave the red rose, crowned, whose ancestors gave the fox taylor in his proper cooler, and the ostrich feather, the pen ermine". The Henry here mentioned was the father of Blanch, wife of John of Gaunt; and therefore the entry is curious in more points than one; for if it be worthy of credit, it shows the existence of the ostrich feather as a royal cognizance long before the battle of Cressy, and renders questionable the later and better founded belief, that it was a cognizance of the counts of Hainault, and introduced by Philippa, queen of Edward III. All that is known at present on this most interesting subject is, that the badge of an ostrich feather has not been traced higher than the reign of Edward III, at which period we find it borne by all his sons, and afterwards by their principal descendants and connexions. In a border of a south window of old St. Paul's cathedral, opposite the tomb of John of Gaunt, and his wife, Constance of Castile, was a roundel *sable*, charged with three ostrich feathers, *ermine*, a figure of which has been fortunately preserved to us (plate xxxi, fig. 5). The feathers are differenced with ermine spots, in consequence, we are told, of the earldom of Richmond, which had been formerly held by the dukes of Bretagne, whose arms were ermine; and that the label of three points round the neck of the lion, borne as a crest by John of Gaunt, was also of ermine for the same reason. In his will, however, we find that on the great bed of cloth of gold, which, as I have before mentioned, he left to the altar of St. Paul's cathedral, the gold roses were "placed upon pipes of gold, and in each pipe two *white* ostrich feathers."

I have not met with an example of the feathers as borne by Henry IV previous to, or after his becoming king of England; but Henry, his son, whilst prince of Wales, appears to have discarded the ermine, and probably his father and grandfather had previously done so; for John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford, his brother, who was created earl of Richmond by Henry VI, also bore them *plain* or *argent*, as did Margaret countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. On the seal of Henry of Monmouth,

prince of Wales, an ostrich feather in a scroll, but without a motto, is held by a swan on each side the shield of arms (pl. xxxi, fig. 3); but as king, the whole ground of the seal is diapered or ornamented with feathers. Henry VI is said to have borne two feathers in saltire, the one *argent*, surmounted by the other *or*; but I have not met with a contemporaneous example. The feathers do not appear in triple plume within a coronet earlier than the reign of Henry VII. They are to be found in plume, and singly, on the tomb of Arthur, prince of Wales, his eldest son, in Worcester Cathedral, and from that period have been appropriated as the personal badge of the prince of Wales, to the exclusion of every other branch of the royal family, as if in accordance with the dictum of Randal Holmes, who insists that the feathers and motto of "Ich dien" are purely of Welsh origin.

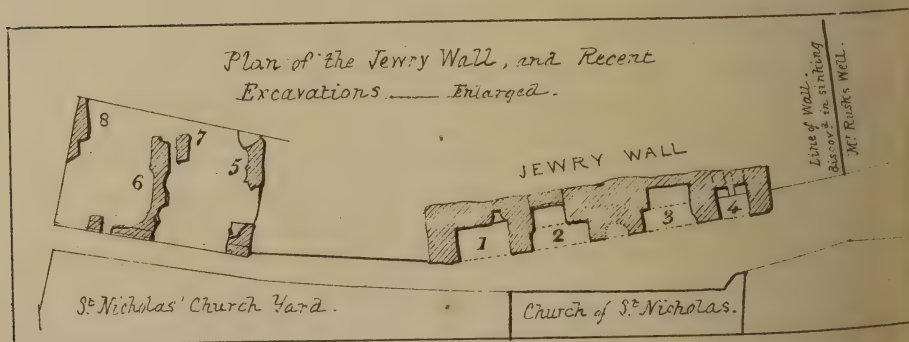
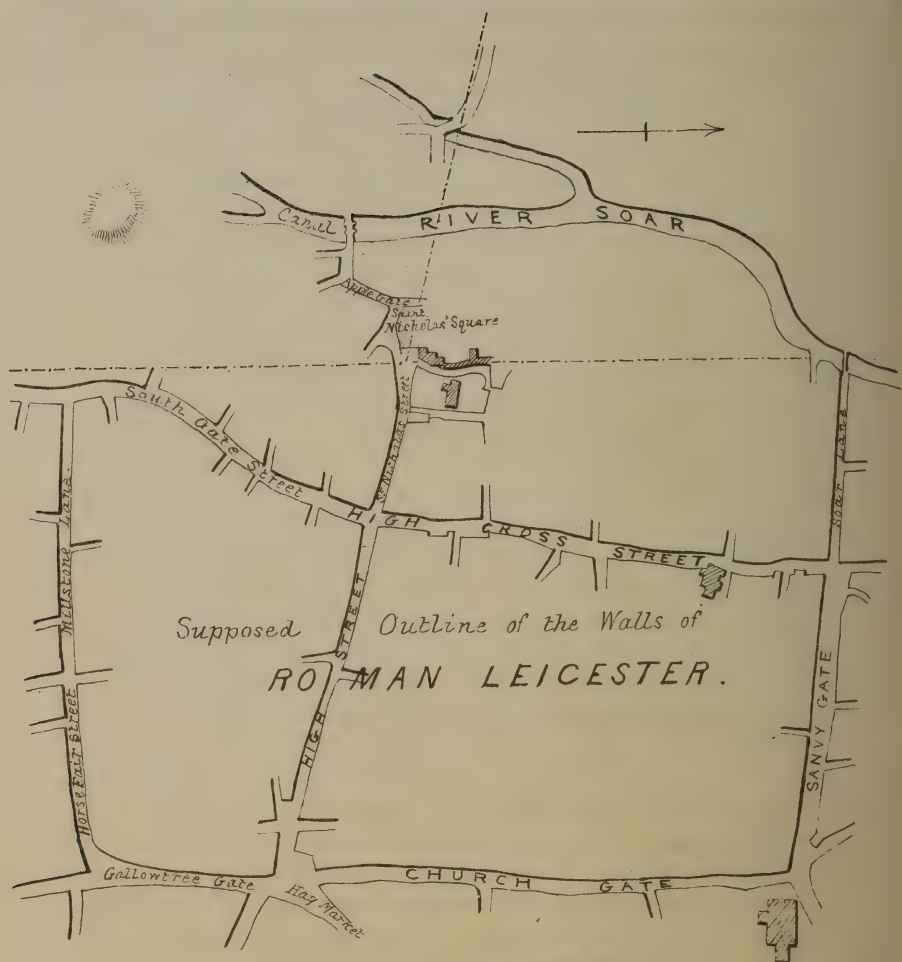
One of the most celebrated badges of the house of York, is the falcon and fetterlock, which the Digby MS. informs us is the special cognizance of "the dukeship of York", and Anstis quotes from an ancient manuscript in his possession the following story. "This fedder locke was devised to the first duke of Yorke, lockyd, which was the fourth son of Edward the thirde, as who seyeth he was farre from the inheritance; and one a day this reversed to his son Edward, called the good duke of Yorke, and he asked what was Latin for a fedder locke, and he answered himself and sayd: 'Hic hæc et hoc taceatis' was Latin for a fedder locke, as who sayeth no man could tell of the grace of Godde, which purveyed so that the king's good grace (Edward IV) is descended of that noble house, and in remembrance of the sayd.....he will that his sonne the duke of Yorke shall beare the sayd fetter locke open and not locked".

Sandford and others have endeavoured to make sense of this story, but it is scarcely worth the trouble; and Bucke's grosser derivation, given in his *History of Richard III*, though more in the licentious character of the age, is as little worthy of credit, as we find John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, bore a padlock for a badge, with an eagle instead of a falcon (pl. xxxii, fig. 1); it is therefore probable the fetterlock was not derived from the dukedom of York, although it eventually became one

of the badges of that house, and Edmund of Langley, first duke of York, built Fotheringay castle in the shape of a fetterlock, a conceit arising, as my friend Dr. Bell suggests, in the jingle of "Fotheringay" and Fetteringyve; but the origin of the badges of the padlock and fetterlock must be sought for, I suspect, in Spain. John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, are the only sons of Edward III who bear such a cognizance, and they both married daughters and coheirs of Peter, king of Castile and Leon. The eagle and the falcon may have been added to them by the English princes. The eagle was used by king Henry II as a device on the wall of the palace at Westminster. Edward III granted his personal crest of the eagle with great solemnity to William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who regranted it to Edward's son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, with equal form, and to the great gratification of the king. John of Gaunt bequeaths to his daughter, the duchess of Exeter, "his velvett bed of silk, with *blue* eagles displayed". An eagle volant appears on the tomb of Henry IV, and was the pendant to his collar of SS, and king Henry VI is called "our eagle" in the satirical verses written about the year 1449. The imperial bird of Jove has therefore been a royal cognizance in England from the time of Henry II, whose mother Maud we know was empress of Germany.

The two remaining badges may be dismissed in a few words. On the canopy of the monument of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre, at Canterbury, is painted an animal, which some have called an ermine, some a gennet, and some a sable. Mr. Williment has a long note on the subject, and inclines to the gennet, as it is believed to be "an old device of an English king", in allusion to the name of Plantagenet; but although the animal is painted on the king's side, if it be a gennet, I think it more likely to be a cognizance of the queen, and like the mulberry-tree of the Mowbrays, in allusion to her name "Jeanette". The last badge mentioned as Lancastrian, is "the panther", which is attributed by Sir Wm. Segar to Henry VI, and blazoned "passant guardant, *argent*, spotted of all colours, with vapour issuant from his mouth and ears"; but there is no authority quoted for it, and there is no example extant. The only collateral evidence being the supporter of the arms of the Somersets dukes of Beaufort, who are supposed





to have used it as a token of their Lancastrian descent. It was my intention originally to have said a few words upon the livery colours of the house of Lancaster, and on the mysterious collar of SS, which is still food for controversy, but the great length of this paper must be my apology. I feel I have taken up an unconscionable portion of your time, and yet I know not how I could have said less on subjects each of which would deserve a volume of commentary. As I premised to you, I have perhaps given you little new information; but I have carefully separated unauthorized assertions from proven facts; and as it is my hope that I may at no distant period be enabled to solve some of these national enigmas, I will rest my claim on your favourable consideration, not "on my deserts"; but "what I will deserve", should life and health be spared me.

ON THE JEWRY WALL AT LEICESTER.

BY JAMES THOMPSON, ESQ.

IN the western quarter of the town of Leicester stands a massive pile of ancient masonry, known by the inhabitants as the "Jewry wall". It is dark with the wear of ages. Its face is broken into unseemly scars and furrows. It seems to be tottering to its fall. Modern buildings—warehouses and manufactories—hem it in on three of its sides, while a fourth is guarded from approach and mutilation by the church and church-yard of St. Nicholas. Dark shadows hang over the origin of this perishing fragment of antiquity. The lamp of history is carried into the very night of ancient days, in search of it, and is there extinguished. Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of a temple of Janus, which was in existence when king Lear was buried in a vault under the river Soar, near Leicester, about eight hundred years before the Christian era; but this of course is fabulous. Burton, the topographer of Leicestershire, who wrote his work about the year 1622,

says, in reference to the fact of Leicester having been a Roman station, that the Roman antiquities there found will give confirmation to it ; and he proceeds :

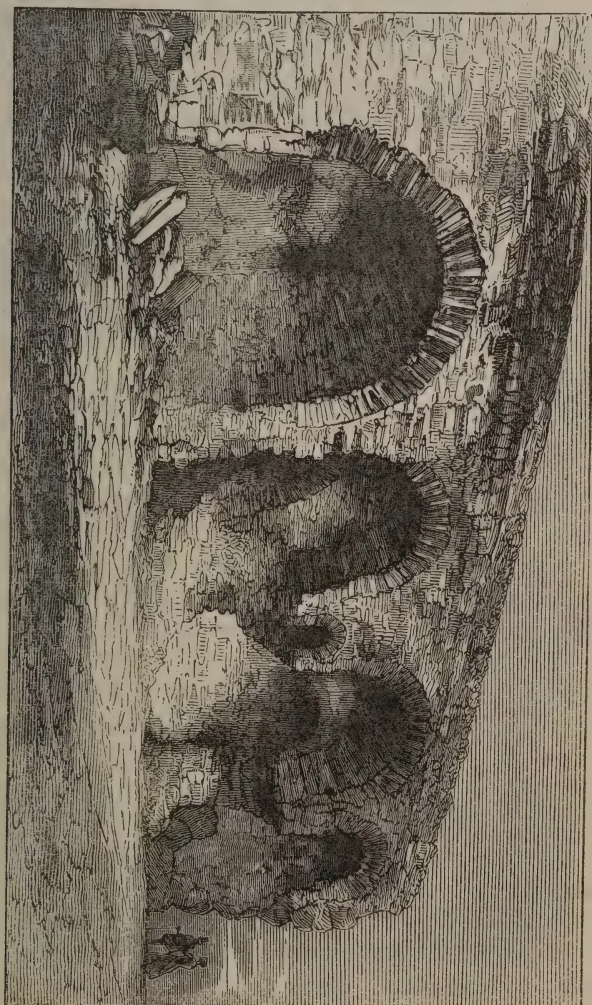
“ First, the ancient temple here, dedicated to Janus, which has a flamen, or high priest, here resident, in which place great store of bones of beasts (which here have been sacrificed) have been digged up and found, and the place yet called hereof, the *Holy Bones*, which all historians do agree to have been here, and surely was the foundation of the Romans, as appeareth by their god Janus Bifrons, to whose honour the first temple was built in Rome by Romulus and Tatius ; or, as others say, Numa Pompilius, in a place called Argiletum. And not founded by that feigned king Lear to the honour of Janus, as Geoffrey of Monmouth, and (of latter days) John Harding and John Rous of Warwick, will have it ; which, how fabulous and improbable it is, any ordinary capacity may conceive, in that it is known to all that Janus was not adored, or thought of ever, of any but the Romans.”

Now, it is evident that Geoffrey of Monmouth is the source of the tradition relative to the temple of Janus, and, as he is supposed to have published his history about the year 1147, we may infer that he derived his story from some more ancient though unknown writer. He would also be aware of the existence of the fragment over which the legend hovered ; and the linking of the name of Lear with its history, though anachronic, does not prevent the statement of its having been a temple of Janus from being believed, nor have we any evidence to *disprove* the possibility of some Roman, or Roman-British governor, having erected the building during the time when the Mistress of the World held this country under her sway. Stripping the account of its chronological character, and allowing it to stand as the statement of a temple having been erected to the god Janus, by a personage endowed with the chief authority of the central states of England, resident at Ratæ—the metropolis—it is not at all improbable ; and the fact (if fact it were) would be transmitted from father to son, and become incorporated with the lore of the districts, mingled with the fancies of the people, from whom the original chronicler would learn the story.

The next matter for consideration is, in what part of the station it was, and why it was placed in the peculiar position it occupied. This renders a reference to a modern

map of Leicester necessary. An examination of this shews that three sides of a parallelogram may be yet discerned in the outline of the modern streets. One side—the north—is formed by Soar-lane and Sanvy-gate. At the point *A* in the plan annexed (see plate xxxiii), the north gate of the town was standing less than a century ago.

The Jewry wall, Leicester.



Along this side I have traced from point to point fragments of the ancient wall. The east side is bounded by Church-gate and Gallowtree-gate, and is intersected at *B*

by the East-gate, which was also taken down within the last hundred years. The south side was formed by Horsefair-street and Millstone-lane, and its gate stood at the point c. Portions of these two ancient walls are now to be found.

Now, it is a singular fact, that if a dotted line (D) be drawn from the point E in the north wall, near the river Soar, to a corresponding point F near the south gates—parallel with the eastern wall,—that line will pass through the Jewry wall at G, and thus complete the quadrangular area, giving to the whole enclosure a circuit of about 2,800 yards—the extent of some of the ancient Roman stations.

With regard to the fourth and incomplete side of the supposed boundary of Leicester (represented by the dotted line D), it is to be observed, that this is not obvious in the modern map; as streets cross the line in many parts. A feature similar to this may be noticed in the map of Chester, where the three sides of the Roman castra appear clearly enough, and the gates occur at the regular intervals in the walls; but the line of the wall on the river side of the city is not apparent, having probably been enlarged to admit of an expansion of its limits. This seems also to have been the case at Leicester; the site of the keep of the Norman castle H being out of what we may consider were the original walls, but included, in all likelihood, at a later date. Of course, when this enlargement of the town took place, the original western wall of the station would be removed, and the space built over, the river affording its protection from the sudden inroads of an enemy to the population on that side; nor is it unlikely that in the later Roman period a defence might skirt the place on this side, between the buildings and the Soar.

The frequent discoveries of Roman remains, fragments of masonry, pavements, coins, and pottery, on the area lying between the river and the dotted line on the plan, attest that the district was once a populous one.

Assuming, then, that the dotted line was the primitive western wall, another aspect of the plan requires attention. If a second dotted line be carried forward from I to J (the present Bow bridge), it will connect the street, commencing at the East gate, and running westwardly to the Jewry

wall, at G, with a road that runs directly into the ancient fosse road. As was suggested some years ago by the bishop of Cork, the point I might have been the site of the original western gate, connected by a *via vicinalis* with the bridge, at J, where the road leads to the fosse way. Certain it is that the two points may be united by a right line—that they connect the main street directly with the old Roman road—and that the remains of a pavement have been found on the south side of the supposed *via vicinalis*, near to Danett's Hall.

It may be objected to this view, that the inner branch of the river would interrupt the passage at M, and that the West bridge, at L, near which the West gate stood, was the original and only *porta* of the primitive city in this quarter. This, however, is answered by the fact, that the streets lying between the point I—the continuation of the main road from east to west—and L, are crooked and indirect, while the dotted line I J is the reverse; and it has been supposed, not without argument (which it is needless to repeat), that the inner branch of the river is a work of art, excavated in times more modern than those of which we are speaking.

From the foregone considerations, the inferences themselves start out, without needing any logic to help them, that the old Jewry wall, with its niches, was one side of the temple of Janus, and that somewhere about the spot I stood the western gate. It seems only natural, that the temple in honour of its guardian deity, should be near at hand; and there would the stranger merchant or husbandman, on entering the city, proceed to offer up his prayers, beseeching the favour of the god on the enterprise or transaction he was about to enter upon in its walls; and, laying on the altar the cakes, the barley, the incense, and the wine, so grateful to the sense and so approved by the supreme sanction of the divinity, he would leave the portals of the fane with a confident step, and a mind self-satisfied, duly prepared for the execution of his duty or the prosecution of his business.

I now proceed to an examination of the outline of the wall, and of the remains recently excavated near to it, on the premises of Mr. Rust, as described on the plan annexed (see plate xxxiii). The measurements are given with

exactness, from actual survey by an associate of our body, Mr. C. Wickes, my fellow-townsmen, to whom I am indebted for the trouble he has taken in the matter. It will be seen from this plan, that the wall (lying north and south) has four openings in its eastern face. The width of that marked No. 1, is fourteen feet ten inches; of No. 2, eleven feet nine inches; of No. 3, the width is eleven feet six inches; and of No. 4, six feet six inches. The height of the wall is about eighteen or twenty feet, and its length about twenty-five yards. On the western side two arches were formerly visible, corresponding, though somewhat irregularly, with Nos. 2 and 3. Unless, then, the mass is composed of two parallel walls built close together, the openings in the western side were formerly the entrances from the suburb to the temple, and two of the large recesses (Nos. 1 and 4), were niches intended to be used for sacrificial purposes. No. 4 contains traces, however, of two smaller openings. Now, it is found that the masonry is throughout compact and homogeneous: therefore, the former supposition of there being two walls, is erroneous; and the latter is probably correct.

Another fact which supports the idea that the fragment is part of an ancient temple, is the discovery of a pavement, composed of bricks of a peculiar shape, in the church-yard northward of the fabric, at a depth of five or six feet from the surface. If the church of St. Nicholas occupy the site of the extensive quadrangle, which it may be supposed the temple stood upon, then the pavement would constitute its flooring.

Leaving the wall and passing to the recent excavations,¹ we notice that the masonry last discovered is precisely of the same kind as that of the Jewry wall. It is composed of alternate layers of tiles and fragments of granite, held together by cement, and forming an almost inseparable mass, the cement being nearly as impenetrable as the brick or stone. The character of the masonry is similar to that found in other parts of the country; and, as delineated by the able pencil of Mr. Flower, of Leicester (one of our associates), in his sketches of the Jewry wall and of a por-

¹ Since the communication of this paper the excavations have been extended a little, and are found to reveal a quantity of Roman masonry, immensely thick and of almost inseparable tenacity.

tion of the subterranean fragment lately found, will be at once recognized by those who are accustomed to the investigation of Roman-British antiquities.

Unfortunately, however, for the thoroughly satisfactory solution of the problem before us, the recently-discovered remains do not enable us to decide of what edifice they formed a portion. One thing is clear—the projecting walls, Nos. 5 and 6, run at right angles to the line of the Jewry wall. It is also on record, that a sewer, which was found in the year 1793, midway between the wall and the river, would, if continued, have run to the very spot now under notice, on Mr. Rust's premises. The sewer contained many remains of undoubted Roman origin—mortaria, jars, red ware, broken columns, and so on. The potters' names (Macrina, Albinus, Albusa, Cicur, and Marina) were distinctly marked upon some of the objects. The passage would empty itself in the direction of the current of the river, not at right angles with it.

Another passage (marked No. 7 in the plan) also led to the river, and subterranean fragments in a line with it have been discovered between it and the Soar.

Mr. W. Gardiner, of Leicester, informs me, that he remembers the occurrence of a discovery, between sixty and seventy years ago, which bears upon our inquiry. To the southward of the remains just mentioned, at a few yards' distance, partly below the surface of St. Nicholas-street, and partly below the brewhouse, situate on the premises of an inn known as the "Recruiting Sergeant", at a depth of five or six feet, a large quantity of what he calls "Roman rubbish" was turned up, and among it a coin of Heliogabalus. Under the street, the foundations of a wall, like the Jewry wall, were met with, and running at right angles from it. Westwardly were two other walls resembling those of an apartment.

The next question arising is—when were these walls overthrown? This, I think, may be easily answered; for we have historical testimony to aid us in the inquiry.

In the year 1173, in the reign of Henry II, when the sons of that monarch conspired for his overthrow, Robert Blanchmains, earl of Leicester, took part in the unnatural struggle, arraying himself and his forces against the sovereign. While the earl was in Normandy, the king sent

Richard de Lucy, his chief justiciary, to besiege Leicester, which resisted him for some time ; but owing to the breaking out of a fire in the town, the inhabitants were compelled to surrender. The besieging forces then destroyed the defences. Matthew of Paris says, that "when the walls of the city (wanting a good foundation) were undermined, and the props burnt which sustained them, the pieces and fragments fell down, which remain to this day indissoluble." As the mortar remained fixed to the stones, the pieces of ruin had the strength and appearance of a solid rock.

Here, I think, is internal evidence, that the walls of this date were those which the Roman legionaries had erected some centuries before. The peculiar character of the masonry is strikingly indicated in the words of the chronicler.

I may here mention, that on the spot marked No. 8 in the plan, a solid mass of masonry, a portion of a wall lay with one of its sides downwards, as if it had been hurled with violence, or fallen from some eminence, to the earth. Its appearance bore emphatic testimony to the occurrence of some convulsion, either of nature or of war. It was at least seven feet long by as many broad, and of the width of the Jewry wall.

The first of the inferences, consequent on the position that the walls destroyed by Richard de Lucy were those of the Roman period, is, that the adjoining church of St. Nicholas was constructed out of the materials of the temple. The traces of Roman tiles and rubble in the fabric are evident. On the north side are two small closed arches, the semicircular borders of which are entirely composed of these tiles. The character of the tower is that commonly known as Norman. Assuming, then, that the greater part of the temple of Janus was in existence when the siege took place, and was then destroyed with the walls, it does not appear improbable, that when the town was rebuilt and again populated, a new church would be erected. From the ashes of the heathen temple, a phoenix would arise in the shape of a Christian church. Whether the old edifice was used as a place of worship or not, cannot now be positively stated ; but it may be conjectured, that if it were so used, it might have been dedicated to St.

Nicholas, at an early period in the history of the British church, in the same spirit and policy as that which might have prompted the Romans to substitute the god Janus for the sun, the saint being regarded as the protector of tradesmen and the people generally.

A second inference, suggested by the passage quoted from Matthew of Paris, is, that the Roman walls being destroyed by Richard de Lucy, and the materials being removed to be employed afterwards in the erection of other buildings, this would account for the non-appearance of any superterranean remains of them in other parts of the town.

With regard to the name of the relic—the Jewry wall—it is sufficient to state, that the quarter was most probably occupied by the outcasts of Israel during the reigns of the sovereigns of the Norman race in this country. As in London and elsewhere, a “Jewry”, or Jews’ district, existed in Leicester, in which the people of that faith were compelled to live, isolated and apart, the bitter prejudices of the Christian forbidding any social intercourse or friendly communion with them. The part of Leicester to which they were driven, was in all likelihood the most deserted, inconvenient, ill-built, and unhealthy. In testimony of the antipathy of the burgesses of Leicester to the Jews, I may cite the charter of Simon de Montfort, granted about the year 1250 A.D., and now extant, in which the earl provides, that no Jew or Jewess shall inhabit or remain, or obtain a residence, in Leicester, during his lifetime, or that of any of his heirs, to the end of the world. After the date of this charter of exclusion, therefore, the Jewry would be forsaken, though for six centuries it has retained its name unaltered.

The relics turned up on the site of the new warehouse, were pottery (one piece marked with the name of Primiani), two pieces of glass of a colour approaching to a bright blue tessera, of stone (about three-quarters of an inch square), tiles bearing the impress of some quadruped’s feet upon them, two pieces of bone (supposed to be hair-pins), and coins. Of the latter, one is of copper, the size of a half-penny, and bears on the legend the name of the emperor Vespasian, the head occupying the centre; on the reverse is an eagle, with wings expanded, resting on an orb. The inscription on the other coin is undecipherable.

Having mentioned the historical notices of the Jewry wall, and given reasons for believing that the relic is that of a temple, while the recent excavations are assumed to be on or near the site of the ancient western gateway of the Roman-British *ratæ*; having described the existing state of the wall and the late excavations; and having stated all the correlative facts and corroboratory testimony, connected with the theory advocated, I leave the matter to the consideration of the Association. It is impossible to dismiss it without having received deep impressions of the skill, the knowledge, and the power of the Romans. When one contemplates the pile, it is not without a wish, that this mute memorial of eld would answer our questionings, and tell us of the scenes which have been enacted in its presence, and once more echo the language that reverberated among its recesses, when the priest and the people assembled on the spot, or the sounds that were heard when the heathen first imbibed the Christian doctrine, or the din of war that has often reached its most sacred penetralia. Nor can any one, who is inspired with the spirit of archæology, view without veneration this strange fragment, which may, perchance, have been gazed upon by the earliest apostles of our faith, and which may have formed part of a building wherein Hadrian himself has offered his prayers to the gods; while the neighbouring relics, recently discovered, linked with the age of Vespasian by the upturning of one of his coins, remind us of that emperor and his conquest of Jewry. The fancy may yet invoke from their hiding-places the shades of the departed great, whose forms were once witnessed on this site; and we may imagine we see the imposing array of the victorious legions of Rome, filing through the portals on their way to some new conquest, headed by the glittering eagles, and preceded by the trophies of their triumph over the downcast Britons. But the conqueror and the conquered have given place to another race, of probably more enduring power and grandeur, and an age of greater peace and light has happily succeeded, wherein the mists of superstition are dispelled, and the usages of barbarism abandoned, and it is our more fortunate lot to speculate upon these, which once might have claimed us for their subjects or their victims.

ON

THE ORIGIN OF WINDMILLS IN NORMANDY
AND ENGLAND.BY MONS. LEOPOLD DELISLE, OF VALOGNES, IN NORMANDY. TRANSLATED
FROM THE FRENCH BY WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DOCT., FOR. SEC.

THE first introduction of windmills is surrounded by darkness, the abbe Lebeuf,¹ D. Tassin, D. Toustain,² and Le Grand d'Aussy,³ carry up their existence to the earlier part of the twelfth century. They found their opinions on the charter of foundation of the abbey of Blanche, near Mortain, dated in 1105.⁴ In it Guillaume Comte de Mortain authorizes the construction of mills driven by the wind.⁵ But when we examine this document attentively, we perceive in it marks of forgery. Thus, Vital is still called abbot of Savigny; yet the abbey of Savigny was not founded until seven years later. We cannot therefore invoke its authority to prove the existence of windmills at that period. To find an authentic mention of them we must descend to the later years of Henry II, which is furnished by an undated act of Alexander de Liéville,⁶ who, about 1180, gave to the abbey of St. Sauveur de Vicomte a piece of land near a windmill, most probably at Montmartin en Graine.⁷

About ten years later, Samson, abbot of St. Edmond, had

¹ Dissertation sur l'état des sciences depuis Robert jusqu'à Philippe le Bel.

² Nouveau traité de Diplomatique, t. iii, p. 668.

³ Histoire de la vie privée des Français, ed. de 1815, t. 1, p. 63.

⁴ The original of this charter, of which there remains only a fragment, is preserved at Paris in the Archives Nationales, carton L, 1146, 18. It has been printed by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. xiii, p. 298; and in the *Gallia Christiana*, t. xi, instr. c. 108. See also Mabillon *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, t. v, p. 474.

⁵ Possint edificare, construere domos,

furnos, stagna, molendina, ad aquam et ad ventum.

⁶ Concerning whom see *Cartulaire de Saint Sauveur*, preserved in the Archives du département de la Manche à St. Lo, Nos. 301, 348, 358. Before the year 1186, he ranked among the benefactors to the abbey of Lessai, *Gallia Christiana*, t. xi, instr. c. 228 A.

⁷ Totam illam terram de dominio meo quam habebam in monte monasterii quæ sita est inter monasterium Sancti Martini et molendino (sic) de vento quam via de villa ad ecclesiam sequat. *Cart. de S. Sauveur*, Fo. xxv, No. 125.

a windmill, which the dean Herbert, at Haberdon, had built, pulled down.¹ On the 3rd of December, 1199, king John authorized the construction of a windmill on the possessions of Wade.² In 1201 the royal profits from the windmill, which William Poignat possessed at Langrune, near Caen, were sold; their price was six livres of the money of Anjou, equal to about one hundred and twenty francs of the moneys of the present day.³ In the charter of Geoffry de Dorlens, in 1207, for the customs of Fienvillers, it is fixed, that if the brethren of the hospital wish to have a windmill, or a horse-mill, they may build one at their own proper cost.⁴ Towards 1210, R., lord of Ivetot (for it was not until later that they took the title of kings), permitted the canons of St. Honorine de Gravelle to build a windmill at Beauvoir.⁵ A charter of Nicolas Baligan, preserved with those of the commandery of St. Stephen de Renneville, mentions a windmill in 1214.⁶ At the two sessions of the Exchequer of Normandy, held during the year 1216, the right of building windmills was restricted. Towards 1225, Roger le Rous gave to the abbey of Montebourg a windmill at Turqueville, with the compass of seven feet round it from the steps.⁷

In 1212, the monks of St. Taurin had recently built a windmill.⁸ The constitutions of Giles of Bridport, bishop of Salisbury in 1216, teach us, that in his diocese tithes

¹ Herbertus decanus levavit molendinum ad ventum super Hauberdun. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda, curante Jo. Gage Rokewode (Lond. 1840), p. 43.

² Possint construere molendinum venti in libero tenemente suo de Wade. Rotuli Chartarum, t. i, p. 36, c. i.

³ Et de vi Libris quas recepit de venta in molini ad ventum de Lengrona ejusdem Wilhelmi. Magni Rotuli Saccarii Normanniæ, ed. de M. Stapleton, t. ii, p. 569.

⁴ Si fratres hospitalis facere voluerint molendinum cum vento velequis sumptu suo, facient. Archives Nationales à Paris, S. 5059, No. 21.

⁵ Concessi eis quod facerent sibi molendinum ad ventum in terra mea apud Belveier in loco quem sibi ad hoc competenciolem eligerent, et ego eis ad illud faciendum lignorum materiem invenirem. *Cartulaire de Gravelle*, preserved in the Archives du depart. de la Seine Inférieure, à Rouen, fo. 110, vº.

⁶ Dimidium acram terre ad molendinum venti, *Titres de Renneville*, preserved in the Archives Nationales of Paris; formerly marked No. 1 of the 13th bundle, carton s. 4995.

⁷ M. L'Echaudé d'Anisy — Grand Rôles des échiquiers de Normandie, p. 139, c. 2; Marnier *Etablissements*, p. 132, et 158.

⁸ Molendinum meum et terram in qua situm est, desuper mansuram Saraceni cum semitis et viis et omnibus ad idem molendinum pertinentibus large et plenarie habendis cum septem pedibus terre extra Scalam in circuitu molendini libere ab omnibus ad me et hæredes meos pertinentibus. *Cartulaire de Montebourg*, preserved at the Chateau de Plein Marais, p. 165.

⁹ Molendinum de vento quod monachi fecerunt fieri de novo. *Petit Cartulaire de Saint Taurin*, preserved in the Archives du depart. de l'Eure à Evreux, p. 103.

were payable on wind and watermills.¹ Mathew of Paris, in his picturesque description of a storm which happened in the same year, does not omit to mention the ravages made amongst the windmills.² In 1268, the religious of Fecamp acquired a windmill, with its site and the surrounding ground; to wit, seven feet beyond the entrance gate.³ We must not forget that the mill of Turqueville, of which mention has been already made, had for its appendage a similar space of ground.⁴ The windmill at Crequeville is cited in an act of 1290.⁵ The judges of the Exchequer, in 1292, ordered the destruction of a windmill built by the Seigneur de la Barre, to the detriment of the monks of Lire.⁶ The disasters caused to the watermills by the winter of the year 1302, turned to the advantage of the windmills.⁷

It is unnecessary to continue this enumeration further, and we will only mention that it is beyond a doubt that we find the earliest representation of a windmill in the *Psaultier de Louterell*.⁸ It exhibits the most striking correspondence with those of the present day.

Our modern authorities are generally in accordance that our knowledge of windmills was brought from the east by the crusaders.⁹ This opinion is sufficiently probable. Even at present the Normans give the name of "*turquois*" to a species of windmills, answering in our ancient dialect sufficiently to oriental. The expression "*Moulin turquois à*

¹ De molendino ad ventum et aquaticis. Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, t. xi, col. 770 B.

² Videres rotas molendinorum . . . per impetus aquarum transportatas . . . et quod aqua in molendinis aquaticis fecerat, ventus in molendinis quæ vento volvuntur facere non pepercit. *Historia major*, Lond. p. 623, c. 2.

³ Quoddam molendinum ad ventum cum fundo terre et terra adjacente eidem, videlicet septem pedes ultra cursum scale. *Cartulaire de Fecamp*, preserved in the Archives du département de la Seine Inférieure, fol. cvii. vº.

⁴ See note 8, p. 404.

⁵ Butent au molin du vent; Censier de *St. Vigor de Bayeux*, No. vi, xx. 1111, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, fonds des Cartulaires, MS.

⁶ Charters of the abbey of Lire, in the Archives du départ. de l'Eure.

⁷ Celau trebucha maidt moulin
Qui tout hiver n'avoit moulu
Qui le giel lor avoit tolu;
Si gaingnierent moulins a vent
Plusque n'avoient fet devant.

Literal Translation.

Many a mill fell in this year,
Which winter's time was out of gear,
When frost congealed all to ice.
And gained then our windmills more
Than they had ever done before.

Godefroi de Paris, *Chronique*, r. 1700, ed. de Buchon, p. 66.

⁸ Plate xxiii, No. 7.

⁹ See Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, l.xviii, ed. de 1822, t. v, p. 299.

vent', is found already in an acknowledgment made in 1408 by the Seigneur de Torigni.¹

To these details on the history of windmills, we will add some facts concerning mills driven by the tides of the sea, which were used during the flood and stopped at the ebb. Le Grand d'Aussy attributes their invention to a carpenter of Dunkirk, who lived in the last century.² But in the reign of William the Conqueror, a mill of this kind had been established in the port of Dover.³ In 1235 there existed one at Veulles.⁴ In the fourteenth century the archbishop of Rouen had two mills "de marée" at Dieppe.⁵ Until 1619 there were many at Ponte d'Ouve, near to Carentan. In 1277 Philippe le Hardi confirmed them to Guillaume l'Archier.⁶

ON HORSE-SHOES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

THE slight attention which has hitherto been paid by archæologists to the *History of Horse-Shoes*, has induced me to bring before the Association a few old examples, accompanied with some rough notes, in the hope of exciting an interest in this curious but neglected subject.

The Centauri, a people of Thessalia, were in all pro-

¹ Item en la dite terre vouloit avoir un moulin turquois à vent qui du tout est cheu ; Archives Nationales à Paris, registre 306, No. xiii.

² Histoire de la vie privée des Français, t. i, p. 57.

³ In introitu portus de Dovere est unum molendinum quod omnes pene naves confringit per magnamurbationem maris et maximum damnum facit regi et hominibus et non fuit ibi tempore regis Edwardi. *Domesday*

Book, cited by Sir Henry Ellis, in his general introduction to *Domesday Book*, v. i, p. 124.

⁴ Viam que ducit ad molendinum maris. *Cartulaire de Fecamp*, fol. xxxvii, 2^o.

⁵ Cartulaire de Philippe d'Alençon. MS. des Archives du départ. de la Seine Inférieure, fol. cccclvi.

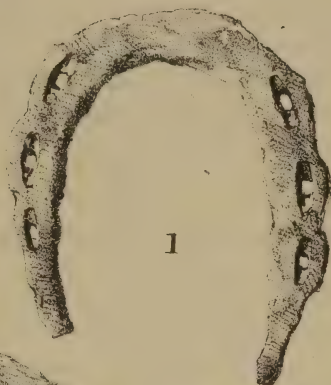
⁶ Trésor des Chartes, CARENTAN No. 1, carton J. 222, des Archives Nationales à Paris.



3



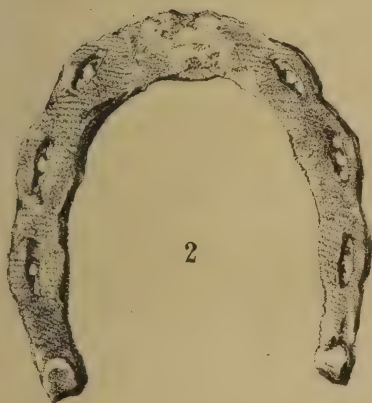
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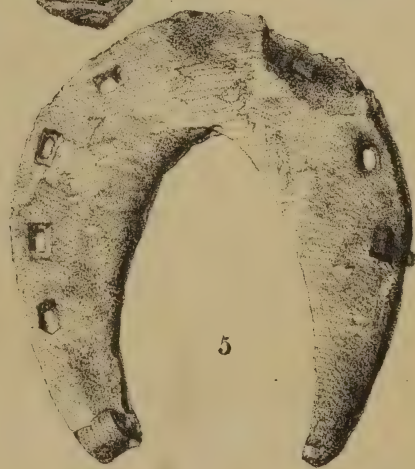
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bability the first who secured and reduced the wild horse to the service of man,—hence arose the fable of the Centaurs, who were represented as half man and half horse.

For a time the horse was employed without any protection to its hoofs; but the rider must have soon discovered that they became injured by long journeys over rugged ground, and every care was therefore taken to obtain horses with the strongest hoofs, and every means was resorted to, to render them hard.¹ Ancient authors speak of horses becoming useless after travelling a long distance. According to Diodorus Siculus (lib. xvii, 94), the horses in the army of Alexander the Great had their hoofs totally broken and destroyed by uninterrupted travelling. And Appian (in his *De Bello Mithridat.*)² relates that when Mithridates, king of Pontus, was besieging Cyzicus, he was forced to dispense with the use of his cavalry, because the hoofs of the horses were entirely worn out. These instances show how necessary it was to provide some strong defence for the hoof; and various contrivances seem to have been resorted to for this purpose at an early period. Amongst the first were probably shoes which enclosed the whole hoof, and which were woven of hemp, rushes, etc. The Romans called this kind of shoe *solea spartea*,³ from its being made of the Spanish broom, *spartum*. It probably closely resembled the horse-shoe still in use in Japan, which consists of a basket in the form of a hoof, which is put upon the foot of the animal, and tied round the fetlock with a cord. Kæmpfer, who visited Japan in 1690 and 1691, says in his history of that country, that—"The horses' shoes are made of straw, and are fastened with ropes of the same to the feet of the horses, instead of iron-shoes, such as ours in Europe, which are not used in this country. As the roads are slippery and full of stones, these shoes are soon worn out, so that it is often necessary to change them. For this purpose those who have the care of the horses always carry with them a sufficient quantity. They may, however, be found in all the villages, and poor children, who beg on the road, even offer them for sale, so that it may be said there

¹ For contrivances to make the hoofs of horses harder and more durable, see Xenophon, *De re Equestri*, cap. iv; and Vegetius, lib. i, cap. lvi, 2; and

cap. xxviii and xxx; also, lib. ii, cap. lvii and lviii.

² Edit. Tollii, p. 371.

³ See Columell. vi, 12, 3; and Vegetius, *Vet.*, lib. i, 26, 3; lib. ii, 45, 3.

are more farriers in this country than in any other, though, to speak properly, there are none at all."

The *soleæ sparteæ* must have required continual renewal in the course of a journey, and no doubt soon led to a more durable contrivance, for we find mention made of *soleæ ferreæ*, or iron-shoes,¹ and even shoes of more costly materials. Suetonius says that Nero had his mules shod with silver;² and Pliny tells us that his empress Poppæa had hers shod with gold.³ But of what form were these metallic shoes? Were they an addition to the basket-work-covering of the hoof? or did they resemble those of modern times?

Mr. A. Rich, in his "Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon", observes, that "the concurrent testimony of antiquity, both written, sculptured, and painted, bears undeniable evidence to the fact, that neither the Greeks nor the Romans were in the habit of shoeing their animals by nailing a piece of iron on to the hoof as we now do.⁴ The contrivance they employed was probably a sock made of leather, or some such material, being passed under and over the foot, and bound round the pastern joint and shanks of the animal by thongs of leather, like the *carbatine* of the peasantry. This sock was not permanently worn, but was put on by the driver during the journey, in places,

¹ Catullus, xvii, 26.

² "Nunquam carrucis minus mille fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis."—Sueton., *Vita Neronis*, cap. xxx.

³ "Nostra ætate Poppæa, conjux Neronis principis, delicatioribus jumentis suis soleas ex auro quoque induere."—Plin., *His. Nat.*, lib. xxxiii, cap. xi. An example of this ancient ostentation occurred as late as the eleventh century. It is related of Boniface marquis of Tuscany, one of the richest princes of his time, that when he went to meet Beatrix, his bride, mother of the well-known Matilda, about the year 1038, his whole train was so magnificently decorated, that his horses were not shod with iron, but with silver. The nails even were of the same metal; and when any of them dropped out they belonged to those who found them.—See *Vita Mathildis*, a *Donizone Scripta*, cap. ix.

This life of Matilda is given in Leibnitii *Scriptores Brunsvicensis*, vol. i, p. 629; and also in Muratori *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Mediolani, 1724; vol. v, p. 353. The anecdote is likewise to be found in Beckmann, vol. ii, p. 291; ed. 1817. I have somewhere read a story of an English ambassador to the court of Paris, who had his horse shod with silver shoes, but so slightly nailed to the hoof, that they soon came off, and became the prize of the gazers.

⁴ Does not Homer allude to shoes when he speaks of "brazen-footed horses" (χαλκοποδες ἵπποι).—*Iliad*, xiii, 23, and viii, 41. Mr. Cureton informs me, that he has seen *horse-shoes of bronze*. In the ninth century, the Greeks called the iron horse-shoe, *σελεναία*, and the nails with which it was fixed, *καρφία*.—See the *Tactica* of the emperor Leo, lib. iv, p. 51.

or upon occasions, when the state of the roads required, and taken off again when no longer necessary. When the underneath part of the sock was strengthened by a plate of iron, it was termed *solea ferrea*. It is consequently an iron plate of this kind which Catullus speaks of as being left in the mud, by getting detached from the sock under which it was fastened, and not one nailed on to the hoof, like a modern horse-shoe.

Our late vice-president, sir S. Meyrick, in his *Critical Enquiry into Ancient Arms and Armour*, vol. i, p. 10, tells us that "the Normans introduced the art of shoeing horses as at present practised in England; for though the Britons had been taught the use of them by the Romans, their *pedolau* were probably considered too clumsy to be adopted by the Saxons. The Roman horse-shoe, or *pedillum*, lapped over, and was tied round the hoof of the horse, and, therefore, occasioned a rattling sound."

Positive as these assertions are, we may yet be pardoned for inquiring whether there be not some evidence of the employment of the modern-fashioned horse-shoe at an earlier period than the Norman conquest, and even in the time of the *Roman* occupation of Britain. The Romans might, and probably did, at first, attach a metallic sole to the sock of their horses, but afterwards they secured the shoe to the hoof with nails.

Beger, in his *Thesaur. Elect. Brandenburg.*, vol. iii, p. 597, has figured a family coin of bronze, on the obverse of which are two snakes with their tails entwined, and between them two *horse-shoes* of a plain arched form, each pierced with eight nail-holes, and having *calkins* at their heels. On the reverse is a tree between the words *io, io*, and the legend *TRIVMP(he)*. By whom, or on what occasion, this curious medal was struck, is doubtful; but certain it is, that this is one of the earliest indications of the modern-fashioned horse-shoe that we meet with on any *Roman* monument.

In the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv, p. 4, mention is made of the discovery at Colney, in Norfolk, of *Roman urns*, iron spear-heads, and "a *horse-shoe* of unusual shape, round and broad in front, narrowing very much backward, and having its extreme ends brought almost close behind, and rather pointing inwards, with the nail-holes still perfect." It is to be regretted that no engraving is given of this horse-shoe.

In making an excavation in Lothbury on July 5th, 1847, at the depth of sixteen feet below the surface, the workmen came upon a number of *Roman reliquie*, consisting of iron keys, Samian and other pottery, and various other articles, amongst which was the iron *horse-shoe* (plate xxxiv, fig. 1). It is of small size, measuring only about three inches six-eighths long, three inches five-eighths wide, and about three-quarters of an inch at the broadest part of the toe, narrowing very much at the ends. It is rather thin, having on each side three deep oblong indentations, punched in such a way as to cause the outer edge to bulge; and in the centres of these hollows are the nail-holes, which are of a rather square form. The interior of the shoe is in the shape of a Norman arch of the twelfth century. The peculiar make of this horse-shoe, the depth at which it was discovered, and its being mingled with undoubted *Roman remains*, proves that it must be of high antiquity, pointing to the *Romano-British period* as the age of its fabrication.

Another *horse-shoe* of iron, fig. 2, is much of the same fashion as the one exhumed in Lothbury, but of rather larger size, measuring about four-and-a-quarter inches long. It is perforated for six nails, bulges at the outer edge, and has prominent calkins at the heels, made by doubling over the iron and welding it. It was discovered some years back in Moorfields, in the line of the old London wall. In the British Museum is an iron *horse-shoe*, which may be safely regarded as belonging to the same age as the two examples before us. It was found with fragments of *Roman pottery*, boar's tusk, etc., in making the sewer in Fenchurch-street in 1833. Mr. Roach Smith informs me that a horse-shoe has been discovered within the Roman encampment on Hod Hill, Dorsetshire. If these specimens, exhumed along with *Roman remains*, do not establish the fact of their *Roman* origin, they are nevertheless sufficient to make us pause ere we assent to the notion that the Romans were unacquainted with the modern practice of shoeing horses.

Two exceedingly curious horse-shoes, similar to those found in London, were discovered some years back near Sidbury Hill, in Wiltshire. Two or three very large-headed nails remained in the holes, and were singularly bent round, showing that they were clenched after being driven through

the hoof of the horse. Mr. Bracy Clark published a plate and short account of these shoes.

That the Britons were familiar with some kind of protection for the hoofs of their horses, either at the time of the Roman invasion, or soon after it, is evident from their possessing a name for such an article. They called the horse-shoe *pedol*, pl. *pedolan*, from the Celtic *ped*, a foot. Fosbrooke states, that "Sir R. C. Hoare found the half of two horse-shoes in a British barrow", in Wiltshire.

It is said that *horse-shoes* have been found in the graves of some of the old Germans and Vandals, in the northern countries, but their age has not been determined.¹ In the British Museum is an ancient iron horse-shoe, found in a mine in Hungary, which had become incrustated with copper from long lying in water impregnated with that substance. It is of a small size, broader than the shoes found in Lothbury and Moorfields, is pierced with square nail-holes, and the heels beat up into calkins, calks, caukers, or cramps, as the points at the extremities of the quarters are termed.²

The earliest horse-shoe the date of which can be fixed with precision, is that which was discovered in the tomb of Childeric, king of France, at Tournay, in 1653. He succeeded his father Meroveus in 458, and died in 481. This shoe was of iron, of a small size; and if we are to trust the representation given of it by Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, p. 235, it much resembled the one found in Hungary. It had four square nail holes on each side, and calkins at the heels.

If, then, the Germans, the Vandals, and the Franks, employed iron shoes which were nailed on to the foot of their horses, we might naturally expect to find them in use among their *consanguinei* the Saxons. There is, however, but slight evidence that they shod their horses in the modern manner. I have indeed seen a shoe very like in form to that found in the grave of Childeric, which was said to have been discovered with Saxon weapons in Kent. It was of a small size, very thin, and much oxidized. Dart, in his *Eboracum*, page 84, states, that at Battle Flats, six miles east of York, the scene of the conflict between Harold and the Norwegian invaders, 1066, are frequently found in

¹ Beckmann, vol. ii, p. 293. Ed. 1817. the "Museum Britannicum". Tab. ix,

² It is engraved by Rymsdyk, in page 26.

ploughing, a very small sort of horse-shoes, which would only fit an ass, or the least breed of northern horses. These circumstances would incline us to believe that the Teutons shod their horses.

The idea that the Normans introduced the practice of shoeing horses into England, probably arose from the great importance which they seemed to attach to farriery, which is clearly evinced by the privileges granted to certain persons for attending to the shoeing of the royal horses. It is said that Henry de Ferrariis, or Ferrers, who came over with the Conqueror, received his surname from being entrusted with the inspection of the farriers, and that the king bestowed upon him the honour of Tutbury, in the county of Stafford. It is also recorded that William the Conqueror gave to Simon St. Liz, a noble Norman, the town of Northampton, and the whole hundred of Falkley, then valued at £40 per annum, to provide shoes for his horses.¹ We also find it stated, that Gamelhere held two carucates of land in Cukeney, c. Nottingham, of the king *in capite*, for the service of shoeing the king's palfrey upon four feet, with the king's nails, or shoeing materials, as oft as he should be at his manor of Mansfield; and if he put in all the nails, the king should give him a palfrey of four marks, or he was to have the king's palfrey, giving him five marks of silver, as the jury, 3 E. III, found the service;² as he was also, if he lamed the horse, pricked him, or shod him strait, etc., *inclaudet*, or *includet*, as it was found 23 E. I, not so agreeably.³ We learn from the Plac. Cor. 13, Edw. I, that "Henry de Averyng held the manor of Morton, in the county of Essex, *in capite* of our lord the king, by the sergeantry of finding a man with a horse, value ten shillings, and four horse-shoes, one sack of barley, and one iron buckle, as often as it may happen that our lord the king should go with his army into Wales, at his own proper expense, for forty days."⁴

The above notices manifest the importance attached to farriery by our early monarchs.

The oldest horse shoes with which we are acquainted are of a small size; nor must we look for large ones until

¹ Dugd. Bar., i, 58.

² Esc. 3 E., iii, n. 108.

³ Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, p. 447.

⁴ Meyrick's "Critical Inquiry", vol. i, p. 11.

the commencement of the thirteenth century, when the stout Flemish breed of horses began to be imported into this country. The earliest figure of a mediæval horse-shoe that I have been able to find, is of the time of Henry III, and occurs upon the seal of Walter Marshall, seventh earl of Pembroke, who died in the keep of Goodrich Castle in 1246. It is represented as formed of a bar of equal breadth throughout, with calkins at the heels, and pierced on each side with four square holes for the nails. Within the shoe is shown one of the long nails used in attaching it to the hoof. (See fig. 3.)¹ On a seal of the time of Edward III belonging to the corporation of Gloucester, there is on each side of the king's head a horse shoe, and also several nails. Guillim, speaking of the horse shoe as an armorial ensign, says: "This bearing of horse shoes in armoury is very ancient, as the arms of Robert Ferrars, earl Ferrars, testifieth, who lived in the time of king Stephen, and bore for his arms, *argent*, six horse shoes, *sable*."

The figure of a horse shoe was painted upon the wooden shield against which the burgesses and yeomen used to tilt on foot; the rules of chivalry not admitting any person, under the rank of an esquire, to enter the lists as a combatant at the jousts and tournaments.² In a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, No. 264, dated 1344, there are delineations of both the fixed and moveable quintain, upon each of which a large horse shoe is painted; but of a form varying very much from that of the shoes found with Roman remains, or in the tomb of Childeric, or on the seal of the earl of Pembroke. The shoes depicted in the manuscript are remarkable for their length, their equal breadth, their ends turning out and somewhat upwards, and from being pierced with nail-holes throughout their entire length. It is this formed horse shoe which is generally met with in heraldry, and which, according to Guillim, is borne by the families of Borlace, Cripps, Crispe, Ferrers, Randall, and Shoyswell, and is also seen in the arms of the company of farriers.³ But Guillim figures the horse shoe

¹ The original matrix is in the collection at Goodrich Court. Sir S. R. Meyrick informed me, that it "was struck up by the iron-shod heel of a boy while trying the extent he could jump."

² Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes", p. 117. Ed. 1838.

³ This company bear for their arms, *argent*, three horse-shoes, *sable*. We may here note, that St. Eloy, Eligius, or Euloge, bishop of Noyon, is the patron saint of farriers.

in the arms of Okeham of a different shape, being almost a circle, with eight square nail-holes placed at nearly equal distances. He says of Okeham, that it is "the chief town in Rutlandshire, seated in a rich valley, an indifferent good and well inhabited town. Here is an ancient privilege or custom which the inhabitants claim, that is, if any noblemen enter their precinct or lordship, as an homage, he is to forfeit one of his horse's shoes, unless he redeem it with money; and the truth of this is apparent by the many horse shoes nailed up on the shire-hall door; and their badge is a horse shoe."

This custom appears to have some reference to the original possessors of the estate, the De Ferrers, who bore six horse shoes in their escutcheon. There were formerly to be seen some very curious horse shoes nailed to the hall-door, some of which were gilt, and a few had the name of the donor stamped on them. One of the old Okeham shoes was preserved in the *Leverian Museum*; but it was wrongly described as being "taken from the old castle of Oakingham, Berks, where it is the custom for every nobleman who passes that way the first time after succeeding to his title, to present one to the lord of the manor."¹

We may here mention a curious septennial custom regarding horse shoes still observed in the city of Lancaster. It was stated in a number of the *Preston Pilot*, in 1834, that "a large assembly congregated for the purpose of witnessing the renewing of the horse shoe, at the Horse Shoe Corner, Lancaster; when the old shoe was taken up, and a new one put down, with '1834' engraved on it. Those who assembled to witness the ceremony were entertained with nut-brown ale, etc. Afterwards, they had a merry charring, and then retired. In the evening they were again entertained with a good substantial supper. This custom is supposed to have originated at the time John O'Gaunt came into the town upon a noble charger, which lost its shoe at this place. The shoe was taken up and fixed in the middle of the street, and has ever since been replaced with a new one every seventh year, at the expense of the townsmen who reside near the place."

¹ The Leverian Collection contained a curious series of horse-shoes, which are enumerated in the "Companion to the Museum", pp. 2, 3.

The most ancient horse-shoes found in this country appear to have left the frog of the hoof much more exposed than was done in later times; for after the middle of the fourteenth century, the central opening of the shoe seems to have been made more contracted. An early example of this change, is shewn in a little specimen which was discovered in Fleet Ditch in 1847. (See fig. 4.) The inner edge no longer presents the figure of a Norman arch, which seems to be the character of the older shoes, but that of the pointed arch of the fifteenth century; thus giving an increased covering to the hoof. This specimen is very thin, made without calkins, and is pierced with six square nail-holes.

During a long period, almost to the middle of the sixteenth century, it was the fashion to secure the shoes to the hoofs of horses with large-headed nails, generally of a square form, and of such a size that they are distinctly shown in several old illuminations. In excavating for the sewer in the Walworth-road in 1825, the workmen discovered, at the depth of ten feet, some bones of a horse and a large iron shoe (see fig. 5), the inner part of which is much like a Gothic arch of the thirteenth century in form.¹ It is pierced with seven or eight holes, in one of which a nail still remains; this is driven in as far as it will go, but the broad end is of such a size that it projects nearly three-eighths of an inch from the surface of the shoe, in the way indicated in the figure of the horse upon which Henry VIII rides, given in a Tournament-roll in the Herald's College, bearing date 1511.²

Whatever the form of the horse-shoe may be, if it is provided with a sunken groove round the margin to admit the heads of the nails, its great antiquity must be looked upon as questionable. One of the earliest examples that I have seen with a groove, is represented in fig. 6. It was found ten feet deep in making the Walworth sewer, but differs altogether in form from the other specimens discovered in this locality, and is palpably of a much later date.

¹ I must here state, that whenever I have compared the form of a shoe to a Gothic arch of a certain period, I do not mean to imply that it is of the same age, but only resembling it in figure.

² An engraving of this figure is given in Dallaway's "Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England", 1793, page 179.

It is of a large size, nearly circular, with a broad surface, grooved close to the edge, and pierced for eight nails ; it is stamped with the letters HI, and it has calkins at the heels. This shoe is of German manufacture, and from the fashion of a buckle found with it, we are justified in assigning it to the first half of the seventeenth century. A similar shoe to the above was found twelve or fourteen feet deep in making the sewer by the "Plough and Harrow" public-house, Kennington-lane.

Various minor changes have taken place in the fashion of horse-shoes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the names of Clark, St. Bel, Taplin, Coleman, Moorcroft, and others, have become famous for their suggestions in regard to the form of the shoe best suited to the hoof of the horse ; but it is quite beyond our province to enter upon these details.

There are few objects the dates of which are so difficult to fix as those of horse-shoes. Not but that great and marked changes have taken place in their form and fabric, as may easily be seen by comparing the earliest with the latest of those alluded to ; but the difficulty lies in the fact that no one has attempted to follow out the subject in a truly archæological spirit. In the present state of our knowledge, it is almost impossible to ascertain the age of a horse-shoe, unless it be found accompanied with some relic which points to the period. The most certain way of arriving at a knowledge of the dates of horse-shoes, will be to try and exhume them from our old battle fields ; specimens obtained from such localities would afford us invaluable assistance in the endeavours to establish their chronology.

Little change has probably taken place in the fashion of horse-shoes in Asia and Africa for many years. In some parts of Bokhara, the people shoe their horses with the antlers of the mountain deer. They form the horn into a suitable shape, and fix it on the hoof with horn pins, never renewing it till fairly worn out.¹

In Egypt and the surrounding countries, the horse-shoes are made of iron, much smaller and thinner than those of Europe, and nearly round, with a very small circular hole

¹ See *The Mirror*, vol. xxv, p. 224.

in the middle. The same fashion is also in use in Asiatic Turkey. In the museum of the United Service Institution are a pair of horse-shoes, with the nails used in fixing them, in common use in Syria. These afford good examples of the Asiatic horse-shoes.

In conclusion we may observe, that some few years back, the itinerant farrier used to wear across his breast a broad canvas belt, painted with yellow horse-shoes on a bright blue ground. A person so accoutred is to be seen in Hogarth's *Enraged Musician*.¹ The horse-doctor was also known by his having a little iron shoe fastened in front of the hat.²

The farrier's smithy³ was once distinguished by a large iron horse-shoe being suspended above the door; it was sometimes gilt. The horse-shoe is still retained as a tavern sign;—witness the “Old Horse-Shoe Inn”, Southwark; the “Horse-Shoe”, Goswell-street; the “Horse-Shoe and Magpie”, Fetter-lane; and the “Black Boy and Horse-Shoe”, Nicholas-lane.⁴

Throwing the horse-shoe used to be a favourite rustic pastime; but both in town and village, the main use of the shoe when not employed to protect the hoofs of horses, was as a charm against witches. Nailed either on, above, but most commonly below the door of the dwelling, the cow-house, and the barn, it was believed to prevent the entrance of any of the weird sisterhood. The potent power of the horse-shoe is alluded to by Butler in “*Hudibras*” (b. ii, c. 3, 291), where he declares of the conjuror that he could—

“Chase evil spirits away by dint
Of *Cickle Horse-shoe*, hollow flint.”

Sir Walter Scott, too, makes mention of the employment

¹ The rat-catcher used to wear a similar blue belt, painted with large rats.

² The horse-shoe is still retained as the horse-doctor's sign. On the gate-post of the Talbot inn, Southwark, is painted a yellow horse-shoe on a red ground, and the words, “Evans, Veterinary Surgeon, down this yard”. On the gate-post of the White Hart inn, there is also painted a horse-shoe, with the words, “Shepherd, Veterinary Forge”.

³ Fosbroke states, that farriers “had, in 1267, open shops, as now, by the road side”.—See Du Cange, v. Cluaurium, Travallum. A farrier's paring and incision knife is engraved in Montfaucon, iii, p. 2, b. v, c. 8.

⁴ The horse-shoe has not only been used as a sign, but has given name to certain localities, as for instance,—“Horse-Shoe Court”, Ludgate-Hill; “Horse-Shoe Alley”, Moorfields; etc. etc.



of the horse-shoe as a charm against witches, in his novel of *Redgauntlet* (chap. v), where Summertrees, addressing Provost Crosbie, says: "Your wife's a witch, man; you should nail a horse-shoe on your chamber door." It was once considered a good omen to find an old horse-shoe, for one thus acquired was regarded as being peculiarly efficacious against witches.¹ A miniature horse-shoe of gold was formerly worn as an amulet by ladies, and this bauble has of late been revived as an ornament for the modern-antique chatelaines. In 1848 the horse-shoe was adopted as a form for ladies' shawl brooches, and became very fashionable. They were wrought of both polished steel and silver, and of a size large enough in some instances to have been nailed on to the hoof of a Shetland pony.

These reminiscences might be continued to an interminable length, but must now be brought to a close; for I do not pretend for an instant that these rough notes embody anything like a detailed history of horse-shoes. My only aim has been to show that the practice of shoeing horses in England, is of far higher antiquity than the eleventh century; and to bring forward a few ancient examples and remarks, with the hope of awaking the archæologist to an investigation of the subject, and to prove to you that some interest is even to be found in a *rusty old horse-shoe*.

¹ At the present day, in the south of Ireland, it is considered very fortunate to meet with a bit of old iron; it must be picked up and thrown over the left shoulder, "just to bring good luck" to the finder.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. III.

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE ABBEY OF FURNESS, EXTRACTED
FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE ABBEY OF SAVIGNY.INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM M. LEOPOLD DELISLE, OF VALOGNES,
IN NORMANDY.

ON the occasion of the visit of the members of the British Archæological Association to Furness Abbey, I have deemed it advisable to communicate some documents on the relations of this monastery with the abbey of Savigny.

Founded by Stephen of Blois, count of Mortain and Boulogne, the abbey of Furness was subjected by its founder, after his elevation to the throne, to the abbey of Savigny: this is the purport of the first charter which I have the honour of submitting, No. 1.

After the union of the abbey of Savigny in 1147 to that of Cîteaux, the abbot of Furness, Peter of York, made vain efforts to maintain this independence, and dared so obstinate a resistance that the pope pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him. Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, and Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, were commissioned to decide the suit betwixt the mother abbey and its filial. They pronounced in favour of the former, and, as we learn from the Bull of Eugene III,¹ of Anastasius IV,² of Adrian IV,³ of Alexander III,⁴ Furness was compelled to remain subjected to Savigny. It was on account of the above process that the three letters (II, III, and IV,) were written.

A short time subsequently, new discords arose betwixt the two emulous monasteries. This time it was a question concerning the abbey of Belland in the diocese of York. The abbots of Savigny and Furness pretended, each on his own part, that the abbey of Belland ought to be subjected to himself. This time, too, the gain accrued to the Nor-

¹ Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 1. — Chartul. Savign. aux Arch. de la Manche à Saint Lo, f. clj, v^o. Privil., No. ix.

² Chartul. Savig., f. cliij, Priv., No.

xii.

³ Ibid., fol. clv, v^o. No. xv.

⁴ Ibid., fol. clx, v^o. Priv., No. xxv.

man abbey, for Alured, abbot of Rievaulx, deputed by the abbot and chapter of Cîteaux, declared that the abbey of Furness had no right over that of Belland. The sentence of Alured is the last of the pieces which I send.¹ (V.)

Amongst the chartularies of Savigny is another document of "A. dictus abbas de Deuldacresse", in the month of July 1231, to which the signature of "Robert (abbot) of Furness" is affixed.

L. D.

Valognes (Manche), October 11, 1850.

I.

Stephanus, rex Anglie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus et omnibus prelatibus et fidelibus sancte ecclesie, salutem. Sciatis quod dedi et concessi in perpetuam elemosinam abbacie de Saviniaco et monachis ibidem Deo serviens, abbatiam de Furneis cum omnibus appendiciis suis. Testibus Roberto de Ver et Ricardo de Curci. Apud Eboracum.

II.

H., Dei gratia, Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et Arnulfus, Lexoviensis episcopus, dilectis in Christo fratribus, Petro et conventui Furnesii, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem, si obedierint. Sicut, frater Petre, nosti, litteras ex parte domini pape nobis attulisti, quibus precipiebat, ut proxima sancti Michaelis festivitate causam, que inter abbatem Saviniacensem et teipsum versabatur, audiremus, et auditam sine canonico terminaremus. Prefixum etiam fuit in litteris, quod, antequam dominus papa ab excommunicatione qua tenebaris absolveret, juramentum eidem faceres, quatenus mandato ejus obedires. Ceterum, prout atestatus ex prepediente infirmitate, in redeundo multam moram feceras, et, ex mandato ipsius domini pape, ad regem Scotie et ad archiepiscopum Eboracensem, mandata et litteras ejus celerius preferre habebas, et, ut requisisti, prefatum terminum usque in festum beati Martini prolongavimus, atque litteras nostras inde abbati Saviniacensi per te ipsum transmisimus. Eodem vero termino, festo sancti Martini, abbas

¹ Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 6.

² Chartul. Savign., f. cxxxiiij, r^o. in diversis episcopatibus, No. xi.

Saviniacensis cum pluribus abbatibus et multis, ut credimus, religiosis et honestis personis ante nos venit, et causam suam seipsum paratum prosequi presentavit. Tu vero nec venisti, nec aliquem qui pro te ageret transmisisti. Transactis denique aliquot diebus, cum defecisses nec appareres, ostendit nobis prefatus abbas Saviniacensis cartam regis Anglie Stephani, testantem donationem factam fuisse super abbacia Furnesiensi Saviniacensi abbacie, et privilegium domini pape confirmans locum illum eidem abbacie Saviniacensi. Cum igitur, sicut diximus, religiose ibi essent persone, productis in medium sacrosanctis evangeliis, surrexerunt abbates, priores et alie plures religiose persone, qui in verbo Domino contestati sunt se vidisse ecclesiam Saviniacensem investitam fuisse de abbacia Furnesiensi, et usque ad tempus tuum possessisse. Suscepto itaque eorum testimonio, cum super omnia defecisses, adjudicavimus et restituimus abbatiam Furnesiensem abbacie Saviniacensi. Unde tam tibi quam vobis omnibus fratribus, qui in predicto loco commoramini, auctoritate domini pape, qui vices suas in causa illa nobis commisit, mandamus atque precipimus, quatenus abbati Saviniacensi et ecclesie sue amodo obediat, et ab invasione et presumptione et rebellione vestra, visis litteris ipsis, omnino desistat, atque liberam facultatem disponendi de rebus et possessionibus Furnesii, pro voluntate et arbitrio suo, eidem abbati Saviniacensi habere permittat. Quod nisi feceritis infra xv dies postquam mandatum nostrum susceperitis, sententiam excommunicationis in vos et in omnes qui vobis obedierint ponimus, et licentiam vos ipsos excommunicandi et complices vestros, vice domini pape qua in causa ista fungimur, eidem abbati Saviniacensi concedimus.¹

III.

H., Dei gratia, Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, omnibus monachis et conversis de Furnesio, salutem et gratiam si obedierint. Causam quam commiserat nobis et filio nostro Arnulfo, Lexoviensi episcopo, dominus papa tractandam inter abbatem Saviniacensem et fratrem Petrum qui vobis prefuit, assistantibus multis religiosis et honestis personis, tractavimus, et, quoniam prefatus Petrus ad diem prefixam

² Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 16.—Chartul. Savign., f. cxxxij, vº. in diversis episc., No. XIII.

inter eos non affuit, nec aliquem qui pro se ageret idem habuit, adjudicata est et restituta abbatia Furnesiensis, iudicio personarum que affuerunt, abbacie Saviniacensi. Postea vero supervenit preceptum apostolicum, ut ipse Petrus et vos ad obedientiam Saviniacensis abbatis cito rediretis, nec ulterius ab ea recederetis. Ceterum si facere nolletis, precepit ut vice ejus tam ipsum Petrum quam vos excommunicaremus et anathematis scientia innodaremus. Petrus autem mandato apostolico obedivit, et sese ad obedientiam et preceptum abbatis Saviniacensis reddidit. Unde vobis mandamus et auctoritate apostolica precipimus, quatenus juxta mandatum apostolicum ad obedientiam abbatis Saviniacensis absque dilatione aliqua redeatis, nec de cetero eidem rebelles vel inobedientes existatis. Verumtamen si scieritis, vice ejus quam in causa ista tenemus, vos ipsos absolvimus; si non feceritis, anathematis vinculo innodamus.¹

IV.

Reverendo et venerabili patri Henrico, Dei gratia, venerabili archiepiscopo universo que Eboracensis ecclesie capitulo, Hugo, eadem gratia, Rothomagensis sacerdos, salutem, prosperitatem et pacem. Quod canonice et rationabiliter factum esse dignoscitur, nulla debet occasione convelli, sed ratum et stabile in posterum debet observari. Placuit domino nostro pape Eugenio controversiam quamdam inter abbatem Savigniacensem et abbatem Furnesiensem exortam, nobis et venerabili fratri nostro Arnulfo Lexoviensi episcopo committere, et ut vices ejus in causa illa obtineremus voluit precipere. Ipsius itaque precepto, dies eis prefixa est. Abbas Savigniacensis cum munimentis suis ad diem venire non distulit; sed Petrus Furnesiensis nec venit neque qui pro eo ageret transmisit. Nos autem nichil prepropere agere volentes, abbatem Savigniacensem aliquantis diebus expectare fecimus. Tandem Petro moram faciente, conditione personarum que aderant considerata, abbas Savigniacensis causam suam et rei ordinem in medium exposuit, dicens abbatiam Furnesiensem a prima fundatione sumptibus et expensis Savigniacensis monasterii edificatam fuisse, et multo tempore

¹ Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 16.—Chartul. Savign., f. cxxxv, r^o., in diversis episc., No. xxiii.

eam in pace possedisse. Inde ordinis sui sex abbates protulit testes qui ita esse dixerunt et coram sancto evangelio in verbo veritatis hoc idem comprobaverunt. Hoc autem pacto adjudicata est abbati Savigniacensi possessio sua, ipsumque iudicio ecclesiastico de abbazia et pertinentiis ejus, vice domini pape, investivimus. Post aliquot dies supervenit Petrus Furnesiensis causam illam, sicut prediximus, terminatam retractari expostulans. Ipso itaque ad hoc laborante, supervenerunt littere a domino papa directe, precipientes prefato Petro iudicium quod factum fuerat observare, ipsumque ad obedientiam Savigniacensis ecclesie redire, vel excommunicationi subiacere. Hac itaque Petrus severitate correctus, obedientiam quam Savigniacensi ecclesie debebat recognovit, et ad ipsam, tanquam obediens filius, redire non distulit. Nos autem rei ordinem et veritatem ideo vobis intimare voluimus, ut, cognita veritate, eam teneatis, et si quod vobis contrarium super hoc fuerit intimatum, respicere cognoscatis, et abbacie Savigniacensi jus suum integre, sicut ei adjudicatum est et a domino papa preceptum, conservetis, et, si quis super hoc contra eam insurgere temptaverit, justitiam ecclesiasticam ei facere non dedignemini.¹

V.

Venerabilibus in Deo dilectis dominis et patribus L. abbati et universo sancto capitulo Cisterciensi, frater A. servus fratrum qui sunt in Rievall, debitam subjectionem et obedientiam. De causa inter dominum Ricardum abbatem Saviniacensem et dominum Johannem abbatem Furnesiensem, pro monasterio Bellelande, quam nobis vestre Sanctitatis delegavit auctoritas, vocatis venerabilibus patribus et coabbatibus nostris diligenti sollicitudine et cura tractavimus. Auditis autem intente utriusque partis rationibus, cum de loci donatione et abbatis subjectione contenderent, dominus Furnesiensis locum sibi ex donatione, quam suis monachis factam dicebat, abbatis autem subjectionem ex filiali reverencia, quam sibi persere, ut ipse affirmabat, idem abbas exhibuerat, vendicare laborabat. At abbas Savigniacensis manifestam donationem loci ab initio domui sue factam et in generali capitulo Savignia-

¹ Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 2 et 16.—Chartul. Savign., f. cxxxiiij, vo., in diversis episc., No. xii.

censi presentatam, consilio que ejusdem capituli susceptam asserebat. Sed et Geroldum abbatem primum ejusdem loci, qui monachus fuerat Furnesiensis, consilio et providentia ipsius annui capituli domui Savigniacensi concessum et datum ad ipsius loci regimen affirmabat. Adjecit insuper predictum abbatem in ipso capitulo, quasi specialem subjectum abbatis Savigniacensis curam ipsius domus suscepisse et in ipsa subjectione usque ad obitum suum perseverasse, ipsumque qui nunc est, Rogerium scilicet, predecessoris sui vestigiis hactenus inheruisse. Hac igitur allegatione cum domini Furnesiensis rationibus obviasset, et auctoritatem capituli generalis, cujus diffinitioni vel dispensationi vel iudicio nulli abbatum aut monachorum suorum fas erat tunc temporis obviare, validis rationibus ostendisset, diligenter pro modulo scientiole nostre que ab utrisque proposita fuerant estimantes et examinantes, per ea que a domino Savigniacensi proposita sunt, si probarentur, ea que allegaverat abbas Furnesiensis infirmari posse censuimus. Proinde, cum dominus Furnesiensis nullos sue assertionis testes idoneos haberet, testes quos dominus Savigniacensis de his que affirmaverat producebat, quoniam idonei ipsius etiam abbatis Furnesiensis testimonio inventi sunt, audiendos et suscipiendos existimavimus. Igitur subjectionem abbatis Belle Lande domui Savigniacensi adjudicavimus, domino Furnesiensi hanc sententiam cum omni humilitate et benevolentia sustinente. Interfuit autem dominus Godefridus abbas Geroldonensis, quem loco abbatis Waverlensis pro iudice pars utraque susceperat. Affuerunt etiam dominus Ricardus abbas Fontanensis, Gillebertus de Holanda, Robertus abbas de Novo monasterio, Radulfus de Parco, Gillebertus de Besingwert, Philippus de Sancto Laurentio, Alexander de Kirchestal, Robertus de Wida, Adam de Melfa, Helias de Ruthfordia, Johannes de Jurivallibus. Affuerunt etiam Turstinus prior Rievallis; Mauricius, Galo, Daniel, monachi Rievallis; Ricardus, Robertus, monachi Savigniacenses; Walterius, Ricardus, monachi Furnesii; Robertus, Landricus, monachi Bellelande; Robertus, Alanus, Ricardus, monachi de Fontibus; Alanus de Revesbe et alii plures.¹

¹ Archives Nationales de France, L. 1146, 16.—Chartul. Savign., f. cxxxiv, vº, in diversis episc., No. xviii.

ON SOME ANCIENT CHARTERS AND GRANTS TO THE BOROUGH
OF CLITHERO.

BY JOHN HARLAND, ESQ.

CLITHERO, says Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley*, is distinguished by a bold and insulated rock of limestone, crowned with the keep of its ancient castle. It is a borough by prescription, of considerable but uncertain antiquity; the name of which he regards as British, from *Cled-dwr* (the hill or rock by the water), to which in later times the Saxon word *how* (hill) has been added, as explanatory. He supposes the castle to have been erected by Robert de Lacy the first, in the reign of William Rufus. The present object is, however, briefly to notice the principal charters and grants to the burgesses of Clithero.

Henry de Lacy the first, who died some time after the year 1147, granted, according to Dr. Whitaker, the first charter to the burgesses of Clithero. But there is no trace of this charter itself in the municipal archives recently entrusted to our care; though in the oldest extant charter, that of Henry de Lascy, earl of Lincoln and constable of Chester, there is a distinct confirmation to the burgesses, of "all the liberties and customs which they have heretofore had of the gift and grant of Henry de Lascy, our ancestor". The documents intrusted to our care are twelve in number, enclosed in a small oaken box, in which have probably been lodged for centuries all the archives of the ancient borough of Clithero. The oldest of these is a square piece of parchment (eight inches by six inches and a quarter), with seal of dark green wax, dependent from the centre foot by a braid of flax, with light-blue silk border. The seal (which is enclosed in a small bag) has been round, two inches and a quarter in diameter. It contains the effigy of Henry de Lascy on horseback, armed *cap-à-pie*, with vizor down, bearing a heater-shield, and his sword drawn. Legend,—in Longobardic characters,—s.: HENRIC (rest wanting). The *secretum* stamped at the back (which might be covered by a sixpenny piece) has the legend, SECRETUM HENRICI DE LACY.✠ The deed occupies twenty lines, seven inches and a half in length, in the

small neat hand of the period, in ink, now a yellow brown. It is in Latin, of which the following is a translation:—

“Henry de Lascy, earl of Lincoln and constable of Cheshire, to all to whom this present writing shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our present writing, have confirmed, to our free burgesses of Clithero, all their burgages, lands, and tenements, with all their appurtenances, within the town of Clithero and without it, with all their liberties, commons, and easements, to the said burgages, lands, and tenements, belonging, excepting our wood of Salthul, in which they shall have no common or ingress. Provided that the said wood be enclosed by a hedge or a ditch; so that the cattle [*averia*] of the said burgesses may not enter into the same. And if, from defective inclosing, they enter therein, they shall be put out, without being impounded. We have also granted and confirmed to the said burgesses all the liberties and free customs which they have heretofore had of the gift and grant of Henry de Lascy, our ancestor,—that is to say, those which the free burgesses of Chester have, and which they freely use, and which at any time they have freely had or have, or have used. We grant also and confirm to the said burgesses, the farms of the town of Clithero, and the pleas of the court of the same town, with the issues and amerciaments to the said pleas and court of the town belonging,—except whatsoever toll [*thelonio*] (there may be), which we retain to the use of ourselves and our heirs; and saving to us and our heirs all complaints and trespasses made to our friends by the said burgesses and others in the said town,—that is to say, in their bodies; so that they who offend shall make full amends before the steward, or our bailiffs, according to the custom and law of the land. We have also given to our said burgesses turbary, to take turf and burn it within the limits of Bacshelf (now Bashall), without waste, gift, or selling, to their own proper use, with free ingress and egress, without any stop of us or of our heirs, or of any one for us. To have and to hold, all the aforesaid, as is aforesaid, with all their appurtenances, to the said burgesses, their heirs or assigns, freely, peaceably, honourably, and wholly, of us and of our heirs for ever. The said burgesses and their heirs or assigns, paying yearly, therefore, to us and to our heirs, ten marks of money, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, for all services to us and to our heirs belonging;—saving to us and to our heirs tallage of the said town, when the lord makes tallage of his demesne, and the rest of the customs, which the free burgesses of Chester do to their lord. And I, the aforesaid Henry de Lascy, earl of Lincoln, and our heirs, all things aforesaid, with all the appurtenances aforesaid, to the said burgesses, their heirs or assigns, will warrant, acquit, and defend. And that this our grant, gift, and the confirmation hereof, may remain firm and stable, we have caused our seal to be affixed to this

writing. These being witnesses :—Sirs John Becke, Thomas de Moleton, Alexander de Mountfort, William the Vavasour, Robert Banastre, knights; Adam de Blakeburne, John de Herice, William de Hackyeng, and others.”

If there had been any difficulty in deciphering this original charter, it would have been obviated by the several copies of it, existing in subsequent royal grants or confirmations. Another of the deeds in this collection is an inspeximus of the 15th June, 20th Edward III, which (as do all such documents) sets out the original grant at length, and confirms it. The next in order is not in this collection; but a copy of it, in Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 266, states, that it is an inspeximus and confirmation in the Tower Records, of the date 1st Henry V (1413-14). Whitaker copies it, because, as he states, the original charter was not then extant in the records of the borough. Another copy of De Lacy's charter will be found in a deed in this collection, being an inspeximus of 10th June, 34th Henry VIII (1542), also confirming the original grant. And lastly, a fourth copy is found in an inspeximus of 11th May, 2nd James I (1604), confirming the original charter, and all subsequent royal confirmations thereof. There are but few variations in these copies, and those chiefly verbal; some of them the errors of the copyist, as where the abbreviated form of the word *averia* (cattle), has been given by Whitaker, *animalia*.

As to the wood of Salthill, which the charter reserves to the lord, it appears from Whitaker's *Whalley*, that the demesnes appertaining to an ancient manor-house of the family of Cliderhow (and subsequently of the Radcliffes), called “The Alleys”, consisted of sixty-four Lancashire acres, including a small park of fourteen acres, called “Salthill-hey Park”, and was sometimes conveyed as the manor of Cliderhow. The term “hey” shews that this park was originally wood. In a translation of the charter made in the reign of Henry VIII, and forming one of the documents of this collection, the rendering the word *averia* as “goods”, makes a singular mis-translation of one clause of the charter, viz., “And so that the said wood be enclosed with hedge and ditch, so that the goods of the said burgesses may not enter or come into the same. And if for want of enclosing the same, they (*i. e.*, the goods) enter

therein, or if it be enclosed, they shall be put forth." The whole is intelligible, if for "goods" we read "cattle". The original grant of the first Henry de Lacy gave to the burgesses of Clithero the same liberties as those of the free burgesses of Chester. What these were, are shewn by a subsequent deed.

As to the farms of Clithero, it seems that by an inquisition taken in 1240, after the death of Edmund de Lacy, the father of our Henry, there were in Clithero sixty-six free burgesses,—a considerable number in those days. After the death of Henry, in 1311, the amount of the annual value paid by the "burgesses for all the burghage-houses and the rest of the town, in fee farm", was £6 13s. 4d. As to the court of Clithero, our grantor was called upon, in the 20th Edward I (1291-2), to show by what warrant he claimed, for himself and vassals, to be exempt from fines and amerciaments of the county, and suits of the county, and suits of the county and wapentake, etc. The earl, as to his wapentake of Blackburnshire, averred, that he had his free court of Clithero, commonly called the wapentake of Blackburnshire, where all his vassals ought, and had been wont, to plead from time immemorial, as the sheriff pleads in other wapentakes. He also claimed to make distresses and attachments belonging to his court at Clithero by his own bailiff, etc. He claimed further to be free from common fines and amerciaments of the county for all his lands and fees in Blackburnshire (with two exceptions), and for his demesne lands in the hundreds of Leyland, Amounderness, and West Derby, and to be free from suits of counties and wapentakes, except for his lands of Rochdale. The word *thelonio* usually implies toll, and is less comprehensive than the word *tallagium*, which occurs afterwards, and which, according to Coke, implies all taxes. The tallage of this deed, however, would seem to be levied at longer intervals, for it is to be paid when the lord makes tallage of his demesne. The next privilege granted is the right of getting turves from the lord's turbarry of Bacshelf. In the *Domesday Survey*, it seems that Bacshelf is stated to contain four carucates of land, and it was then dependent on the manor of Grinleton; but it is now, under the modern name of Bashall, a dependent of Slaidburn, and was for

centuries a residence of an old family of the neighbourhood.

The acknowledgment to be paid by the burgesses of Clithero to their lord, for all the privileges granted them by his charter, was ten marks yearly, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel,—*i. e.*, £2 13s. 4d. on Michaelmas Day, September 29. This sum would purchase thirteen and one-third quarters of wheat in 1302; and its money equivalent, therefore, at this day would be about £27 10s.

As to the witnesses to this charter, the first, sir John de Bek or Beck, is also first witness to a charter of Henry de Lascy, of September 1277, and to another of 1283. Sir Thomas de Moleton, or Multon, is one of the earl's retinue of knights, celebrated in the siege of Carlaverock. Sir Alexander de Montefort occurs as a witness to some undated deeds. Sir William the Vavasour is a witness to many deeds of the period, and was one of the earl's warlike followers. We find one of this name witnessing deeds of his lord in 1277 and 1283, and several others without date: to one of 1295, we have as a witness, William le Vavasour, senior; and to one of 1360-61, William *de* Vavasour. In a deed without date, he is styled "*dapifero nostro*",—*i. e.*, our chief or head bailiff. Sir Robert Banastre is one of a succession of the same Christian name, of a family settled at Prestatyn, in Wales, but who, driven out by the Welsh, settled in Lancashire, where, in the time of Edward I, they were still called Le Westrays. This is probably Robert, the son of Robert, who succeeded his father prior to February 1242, claimed Prestatyn of 5th Edward I (1276-7), and died before the 21st Edward I (1292). He made a grant of ten acres in Walton, on 13th August, 11th Edward I (1283). He also witnessed a deed in 1283. Adam de Blakeburn is the next witness, and he is not a knight. We find him, with his son John, witnessing a deed about 1240, and also a witness to an undated grant to his own daughter Beatrice; and to another grant to the same, he and his brother Henry are witnesses. He also witnessed a deed in 1283, and several undated deeds. An Adam de Blakeburne also witnesses a deed of February 2nd, 20th Edward III. The seventh witness is John de Herice, or Herys. We have his name to undated deeds, sometimes as John *le* Herice, sometimes

as John de Herys. In a charter of Henry de Werdehull, the first witness, John de Herice, was then steward of the county of Lincoln. The seventh and last witness to our deed is William de Hakyeng, or Hakkyng, who witnessed various undated deeds, and one of 1283.

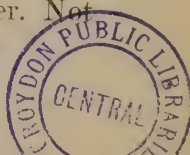
We have enumerated these witnesses and dates chiefly to obtain a key to the date of this charter of Henry de Lacy to his burgesses of Clithero. One of them, sir Robert Banastre, brings it within the fifty years, 1242-1292. Most of them signed deeds either in 1277 or 1283. Henry de Lacy would reach his majority about 1270. In charters of 1286 and 1296, he adds to his titles of earl and constable, that of lord of Roos and Rowenock, being probably part of the Welsh possessions, granted him in 1284, by Edward I. This charter has no such title, and therefore may be taken as prior to 1284. For these and other reasons, we are inclined to think that this charter was granted between 1273, when earl Lacy was besieging Ferrers in his Staffordshire castle; and 1283-4, when he went to aid the king in his Welsh war. The charter was, in all probability, made in Lancashire, and most of its witnesses, as shewn by other deeds, were in Lancashire in 1283, which seems a likely period for making this grant, the earl being then thirty-three years of age, and in Lancashire.

The next deed to be noticed is a grant by the same Henry de Lacy, in Norman French, dated London, 13th June, 35th Edward I (1307). It is an indented parchment, bipartite, ten and three-quarters inches wide, by six and three-quarters deep. The deed occupies eighteen lines in clear, brown ink. A series of capital letters along the indented top and the indented side, have been bisected by the indenting. From the centre foot depends by parchment bands, an oval seal, of vermillion colour, representing on a heater-shield the lion rampant, *purpure*, of the Lacies. The words seem to be "SI gil LUM SEC—RETE". It differs from the small seal engraved in Whitaker's *Whalley*, to face p. 142, the legend of which is "S. Comit̃s Henrici Lacy",—but which has the same armorial bearing. Whitaker, referring to this as No. 9 on the plate, said he had never met with more than one impression of the great seal of this earl. The one to his Latin charter to Clithero,

Whitaker never saw. This parchment is endorsed in English: "Grant of Salthill Wood, Cop. law, and Turbary de Penhull." The following is a translation:

"This indenture witnesseth, that my lord Henry de Lasci, earl of Lincoln, for him and for his heirs, hath granted to his burgesses of Clyderowe, and to their heirs and to their assigns, all the soil and the woods of Salthille, Parisounge, and Halloclawe, to make their profit thereof in the best manner they can. Saving to William Héryce wood for hunting purposes (*venables estovers*), for his manor of Salthille, to get in the said woods, as of right he was wont to do. And the said burgesses, for them and their heirs, agree to save the said earl and his heirs from damage, towards the said William Heryce. Beyond this, the said earl wills, that the enclosure which he has made in the part towards the west of the castle of Clyderowe shall be thrown open (*desaprové*; to approve, is to enclose from common), and remain in common for ever; saving to the said earl and to his heirs the seignory of the town of Clyderowe, as well in demesne as in service, as the said earl has been accustomed to have it. And the said earl grants, for him and for his heirs, to the said burgesses and to their heirs, that they may lay up and cut brushwood (*bushouns*) in the field of Clyderowe everywhere. Beyond this, the said earl grants to the said burgesses and to their heirs, the splitting or cutting (*fente*) of turf, in his turbary on the mount of Penhill (Pendle), to carry and burn it, to their own proper use, at Cliderowe; saving to make sale by free cry (*sauvez vente faire à fraunche voye*), without disturbance, in allowance for (or instead of) the turbary which the said earl formerly granted to the said burgesses in Bagsholfe. And the said burgesses agree for them and for their heirs, as to the said cutting (*fente*) of turf, to take from the Mount of Penhill, in place of the turbary of Bagsholfe, which formerly to them was granted. Provided that neither the said burgesses nor their heirs shall not think to have or to challenge anything in the said turbary of Bagsholfe, at any time. In witness of this indenture, to the part remaining with the said burgesses, the said earl has put his seal. And the said burgesses, by the assent of them all, have chosen six burgesses,—that is to say, Hugh de Cliderowe, Richard the son of Henry (or Fitz-Henry), William the son of Henry (or Fitz-Henry), Master Richard, of Cliderowe, Adam de Dynele, and Thomas de Standone, who, by the common assent of all of them, for themselves and for all the others, to the part (of this indenture) remaining with the said earl, have put their seals. Given at London, the 8th day of June, in the year of the reign of king Edward, the 35th" (8th June, 35th Edward I, 1307).

Time will not serve to examine this deed with the same minuteness as the earlier and more important charter. Not



being acquainted with the vicinity of Clithero, I am unable to say whether such names as Parisounge and Halloclawe yet exist. The woods so named in this deed must have disappeared centuries ago. The custom of selecting six or twelve of the chief burgesses to act for all, prevailed in that age.

The next deed is a grant by letters patent, from Henry IV, of two fairs to Clithero; and this grant seems to have been accompanied by a prohibition any longer to hold fairs in the churchyard of Whalley. The following is an abstract of a Latin deed:—

“Henry, etc., greeting: Know ye that we (for certain considerations specially moving us, and our council of our own duchy of Lancaster), have granted two fairs at our town of Cliderhowe, in a more fit and convenient place. One, viz., on the eve, day and morrow of the Conception, and the other on the eve, day and morrow of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.”

Then follows the grant of the usual matters appertaining to fairs: quiet passage for all honest subjects doing lawful business there, and protection for their bodies, goods, merchandise, etc.; a command to escheators, sheriffs, bailiffs, etc., to apprehend and confine all violent persons, and that traders be not oppressed or molested. The sheriff of Lancaster is commanded to see these fairs held on the said days, and in the said place, and to cause public proclamation to be made thereof.

“Witness myself at Lancaster, the 4th December, in the eleventh year of our reign (1409). By bill, signed by the king’s hand.”

Another document properly accompanies this, in which the precept to the sheriff of Lancaster to make proclamation is in Latin, and the proclamation itself in English. An abstract of the latter will suffice:—

“Whereas of late it is come unto the knowledge of our sovereign lord Henry, etc., and to many and diverse of his subjects of his county palatine of Lancaster, at the feasts of the Conception and Annunciation, which had their assemblies and meetings at his monastery of Whalley, and there in the cymytories and places near unto his said monastery, without any grant or other auctorité, have of late made common, and used buying and selling of goods, catalles, and merchandyses, in semblable manner, as there were or had been lawful fares; whereby many in convenyentyses

have of late ensued to grete displeasure of our said soveran lord, and contrary to his laws, and also to the great inquieting of the religious persons of the said monastery, which our said soveran lord may, neither will not, in no wise, any longer shall continue."

The king prohibits any further holding of the fair at the monastery of Whalley, on pain of forfeiture of all the goods, etc., so sold or set to sale; and further to be punished according to law. The proclamation then sets forth, instead of the fairs thus put down, the grant of two on the same days at Clithero; but neither in the proclamation or the letters patent is the precise site of the fair prescribed. This proclamation is dated the 6th December, two days after the letters patent.

The next deed, an inspeximus of Henry VIII, of the original charter of Henry de Lacy, is only noticed as a specimen of the calligraphy of the time. It is on fine vellum, of large size, the seal gone; the first six words engrossed in letters an inch high, the capitals two-and-three-quarter inches, and the initial H. of the sovereign's christian name about seven-and-a-half inches high, and nearly six inches wide, enclosing a pen-and-ink delineation of the king on his throne, crowned and robed, with orb and sceptre; over the letter, in scroll, "Vivat Rex". The cypher "E. P." refers to Edward VI, then prince of Wales: his insignia, the plumes and motto, still used.

We come next to a document marked on parchment, which is, in fact, a translation of the inspeximus just noticed; but this translation also contains an English copy of the old grant by the earl to the citizens of Chester, which is called "The Liberties of Chester". Of this singular chart and charter of burgage privileges and immunities, we subjoin the translation:—

The Liberties of Chester, as followeth:—That is to say: First, The city of Chester is a free city, and that the foresaid citizens may, by their own power, choose yearly a mayor, upon the Friday next after the feast of St. Deonise. But, having first made his oath of the law of the kingdom, and sworn to the said citizens to preserve the liberties of the foresaid city. And also, that they may of their own power, choose two sheriffs, upon the day before-named, and in manner aforesaid, which, at the command of the said city, the mayor and citizens thereof do make and perform their oaths:—

"*Jurament. Major et Ballivor. ut sequitur.*—You shall swear that

well and duly you shall serve the king in the office of mayor in the city of Chester, and the same city shall keep surely and safely to the use of our sovereign lord the king of England and his heirs, kings of England, and be ready to do to the king all things which to you belongeth to be done. And the right of the king, and that which belongeth to the crown, or the said city, shall lawfully keep. And you shall not assent to any hurt, concealment of the rights, nor of any franchises of the king. And if you know the rights of the king or the crown, be it in land, or in rent, or in franchises, or in suit, to be concealed or withholden, you shall do your endeavour the same to redress. And if you cannot redress the same, then you shall make the same known to the king or to his council, that you may be sure the king may be told of the same. And you shall well and rightfully use and handle the people under your office of mayor, and do right to every one, as well to strangers as to others your neighbours, as well to the poor as to the rich, in that which belongeth to you to be done. And you shall not do wrong to any man in respect of mightiness, nor for riches, nor for gifts, nor for rewards, nor for favours, nor malice, whereby right may be hindered, neither shall take anything whereby the king shall have loss, or any right impeached. And in all things which to the mayor of the said city belongeth to be done, you shall well and truly observe and keep. You shall preserve the liberties of the city as much as in you lieth; you shall keep two leet courts in the year, if God shall lend you life. You shall look that the officers do their duties under you to the uttermost of your power."

And also they challenge to have two markets every week of the year; that is to say, upon the Wednesday and Saturday, and all things appertaining to a market. And also they challenge to have two fairs in every year in the said city; that is to say, one to be holden upon the feast day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist; and the other upon the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and all things belonging to a fair. The mayor and citizens of the aforesaid city do also challenge to have this liberty underwritten,—that is to say, acquittances, releases, recognizances, with their appurtenances, and the *pendice* (a court), in the aforesaid city, for them, their heirs, and successors, for ever. And if any citizen of the aforesaid city die, his will, being reasonably made, shall be accounted strong and sure, in what place soever he die. And if any citizen, etc., do buy anything upon the eighth day, and before witness, and some man afterwards shall come out of France or England, who can reasonably reprove the thing bought by the citizen, the citizen shall be quit from the foresaid earl of Chester and his bailiffs, losing only and restoring the things bought. And if any man shall come unto the bailiffs, which can reasonably disprove the thing bought, he shall pay the price of it to the citizen, which the citizen can reasonably prove he paid for it. And if any citizen, etc., have lent to any man any of his goods and chattels, it

may be lawful for him to take no man in the city for recovering of his goods, without the license required of the sheriff or any bailiff of the said earl. And if any citizen be slain in the service of the king, his goods shall be disposed as and if he have made a will lawful, and that no man shall trouble them, their heirs, or successors, upon pain of £20, to be paid to the earl. And that no man shall buy or sell any kind of merchandise which shall come to the city by sea or by land, except themselves, their heirs, and successors, or by their grant, unless in the fairs holden upon the feast-day of St. John Baptist or St. Michael; and that no man shall hinder or trouble them of the aforesaid liberty, upon pain of £10, to be paid to the said earl for his own use. And the said city doth challenge all their liberties and free customs to be holden of the said earl, etc., to the said citizens, etc., for ever. Yielding yearly to the said earl, etc., the sum of £20, at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael, by equal portions. And also they challenge to them, etc., that they may of their own power choose coroners in the said city so often as need requireth, who shall swear before the mayor of the city, that they will faithfully do and execute attachments and pleas of the crown, and of the said earl, within the said city and liberties thereof, and other things belonging to the office of coroners. And to have and hold all pleas of the crown which shall happen within their liberties, to be pleaded before the mayor and bailiffs of the said earl in the court of the said city, and to receive all amerciements and all other things which belong to the said earl in this behalf, or which they know the predecessors of the said earl to have been accustomed to receive before time. And also for them, and they claim to have for ever, the sacke, toll, and the infangthief, and outfangthief, and quiet being through the dominions of the said earl, from theolonio, passagio, lastagio, marrigio, passagio, pontagio, et stalagio, daingilt, gailtbitt, and all other customs, as well within England as in all other dominions of the said earl. And also they challenge, that if any do die testate or intestate, the said earl, nor his heirs, etc., shall cause their goods to be confiscated; but their executors or nearest friends shall have them wholly. And also, that no bailiff or officer of the said earl of the said city shall attach or distrain within the liberties of the said city, or execute the office of bailiff, in default of the foresaid citizens or bailiff. And also they challenge, that if any man be attached or apprehende within the liberties of the said city, [he] shall be brought to the prison of the said earl of the said city,—that is to say, to Northgate, there to be detained and kept until he be delivered according to the law and custom of the said city. And also they challenge, that they themselves or their goods, in what place or dominion soever of the said earl, shall not be arrested for any default, whereto they stand not either as sureties or principal debtors. And also they challenge, to have their merchantable guild, with all liberties and free customs, which they ever

freely and quietly have had in the time of the ancestors of the said earl in the said guild. And also they challenge, to have all the goods of felons and fugitives within the liberties of the said city, which do amount to the value of £30 or under; and if the said goods do exceed the value of £30, the said earl shall have all the residue. And also they challenge, that the mayor of the city shall have the office of escheator of the said earl within the liberties of the city, and shall be as escheator; that every mayor at the time when as he is chosen, shall come into the exchequer of the said earl, before the justice of the earl, or his deputy, and the chamberlain of the said earl and his heirs, or at the least before the chamberlain, and shall swear faithfully to execute the said office, and to make a true account thereof to the said earl. The mayor and citizens of the said city by these words, acquittances, releases, recognizances, and patents, do challenge to have record, and to receive all manner of recognizances, as well for peace-keeping, as for all manner of debts, to what sum soever amounting, before the mayor for the time being, in their court there, called Portemote, and to record, receive, and make releases and acquittances of the premises in the said court. And also to determine of all indictments and forfeitures in the said court, and to take issues, amerciaments, and fines thereof, to their own proper uses. And by these words, "merchantable guild", with all liberties and free customs, which they ever freely and quietly have had, they challenge, that upon the Friday next after the Feast of St. Deonise, they may of their own power choose every year two stewards of the same guild, which be of the fraternity of the same guild; who then shall swear before the mayor and sheriffs, and other citizens, that they will truly and sufficiently make account of all moneys by them received, of any persons coming into the guild, and of all other customers of the said guild, which have been received time out of mind, and appertain to the said guild. And that every one that is of the said guild shall be a free man in the said city, and may buy within the liberties of the said city all kinds of merchandize coming to the said city by sea or land. Also, that no man admitted into the said guild, shall buy anything within the liberties of the said city, without consent of the said stewards of the said guild. And for the maintenance of the said guild, they may take, and their predecessors time out of mind have taken, these customs:—Every ton of iron, 4*d*. And by this word "sacke", they challenge to hold pleas in their court, called the Pendice, before the sheriffs of the same city. And all manner of complaints and pleas personal between parties of every cause arising within the liberties, etc., which do belong to a court baron. And by this word "portemote", they challenge to have and to hold a certain court in the said city every fifteen days, called Portemote, in the common hall, before the mayor of the said city, and there to hear and determine all complaints and pleas, real and personal, of all lands and tenements within the said city and the

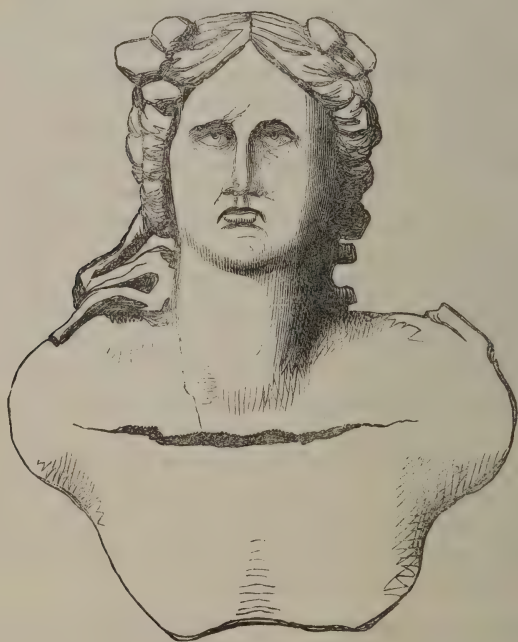
liberties thereof, arising or being, and to make execution thereof. Also, to receive all articles, which do belong to the view of frank pledge, by indictment in rolls or inquiry, and then to hear, and determine, and execute. And also, to have and to hold to their proper uses, all issues, fines, and forfeitures, whatsoever, proceeding out of the said court. And by this word "toll", they challenge to have and take toll for all kinds of merchandize bought or sold within the liberties of the said city. That is to say, for every ship coming within the liberties of the said city, with any merchandize or victuals, called "keel", toll, 4*d.*, and to the clerk, 1*d.* And for every merchant having merchandize in the said city, exceeding the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*; for his toll and all his merchandize, 4*d.*, and the clerk, 1*d.*; and for every tun of wine, 4*d.*; and for every — of any kind of *melidge* coming in or going out of the said city and the liberties thereof, 4*d.*; and if there be more merchants, every one of them, 4*d.*; and for every horse carrying in or out of the said city any load or fardel (bundle) of merchandize, or victuals, to be bought or sold, 1*d.*; and for every horse bought, 4*d.*; for every ox, cow, or heifer, 1*d.*; for three sheep, 4*d.*; and if there be more, 4*d.*; and for every pair of wheels, 4*d.* And by this word "thein", they challenge, that any one born within the liberties of the city, shall continue quiet within the franchises and liberties of the said city,—a year and a day him and his goods shall be quiet from the earl, and from any others in the city of Chester. And by this word "infangthiefe", they challenge, that felons apprehended within the liberties of the said city ———. And by this word "outfangthief", they challenge, that if any felon of the said city be apprehended for felony, without the said city and county, the felon shall be delivered to the officers of the said city to take execution. And also, they challenge by this word "theolonio", that they may be free for all toll for any kind of merchandize, or any other things bought or sold by them, in any fairs or markets, or other places, as well within the city of Chester, as through all the county of Chester. And also as well through all England, as in Wales and the *marchesses* thereof.

The other documents in this collection are all of the seventeenth century. They comprise an agreement as to the reversion of the bailiffship of Blakeburneshire (1606); a document relating to sir E. Phelipps (1607); a precept to the bailiffs of Clithero relating to some pleas in the courts (1668); and an order of the court leet of the Hundred of Blakeburne as to a highway between Worston and Clithero. To name them may suffice, as they possess little interest, save of a purely local kind.

Proceedings of the Association.

JUNE 5, 1850.

R. GROVE LOWE, ESQ., of St. Alban's, exhibited a bronze female bust, found near the amphitheatre recently discovered at Verulamium. It is here represented of the size of the original.



Charles Baily, esq., F.S.A., gave an account of some rude engravings, or marks, found upon some of the jambs of Goodrich Castle. They represent a man hawking, together with various animals; and from an inscription, appear to have been the work of one Master Adam Hastun. A detail of the objects represented, will form the subject of a separate notice in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Baily also called the attention of the Association to a rude and early basin, of a square shape, bearing an inscription, which is, however, illegible. The basin was placed on the north side of the communion-

table, at Tretire church, Herefordshire, in the place usually occupied by the piscina; the purpose, however, for which it may have been employed is uncertain.

Mr. Ernest P. Wilkins, of Newport, stated, that an antique brass cannon, cast in the reign of Edward VI, for the parish of Carisbrooke, had been lately sold by auction, by order of the vestry; it realized £30, and is now valued at a much higher price, merely for its metal. It had for many years been deposited in the church tower, and is a very beautiful piece of workmanship. Its dimensions are as follow:—length, seven and a half feet; circumference of breech, thirty-four and a half inches; of the muzzle, twenty-four and a half inches; bore, three inches. It bears two inscriptions on its breech—ROBERT and JOHN OWINE BRITRINE MAD THIS FACONE ANNO 1549, CARESEBROWKE.

Upon this subject, Worsley, the historian of the Isle of Wight, says:—“The island was also possessed of a small train of artillery, every parish providing one piece of brass ordnance, which was kept in a small house built for that purpose, or in some part of the church. About eighteen of these cannon still (1781) remain; they are of different calibres, from one to six pounds, and some of them appear by their dates to have been made in the time of Edward VI; others in that of Elizabeth. The carriages and ammunition were provided at the expense of the parishes; and particular farms were charged with the duty of finding horses to draw them. They were usually brought into the field in a general muster; and the islanders, by frequently exercising themselves in firing at marks, became very expert in the use of them as well as their small arms.”

A cannon still remains at Brading, and is deposited in a small building in the church-yard; the vicar, the rev. D. J. Heath, refusing to have it removed. It is due to this gentleman to record, that at his own expense, he has had the whitewash removed from the walls, etc., of the interior of the church (in part the oldest in the island), and a complete restoration effected.

Mr. Wilkins also exhibited impressions of a Roman coin, having somewhat the character of the Grecian style of art, which was found at Newtown, Isle of Wight, by him. The obverse seems to bear the head of Minerva, with the letters DOS, which he supposes to be an abbreviation of Dossenus; while the reverse bears a quadriga resembling a triumphal carriage. The coin is of silver, and appears to have had its size diminished by wear.

Alfred Pryer, esq., of Hollingbourne, forwarded a leaden seal, which had been affixed to a papal bull. On one side were the heads of St. Paul and St. Peter, having the letters SPA and SPE above them; and on the other, INNOCENTIUS PP. III. It is in good preservation, and was found in April last at Malling Abbey, Kent.

Mr. Samuel Pratt exhibited a wooden casket of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, distinguished by letters usually known as napkin-pattern, being folded over in a particular manner. On one side was represented the figure of a stag, well known as a royal badge in the time of Richard II. The sides of the box exhibited also a well-executed diaper work.

Mr. Pratt also exhibited an enamel plate of the latter part of the fifteenth century, representing Charles VIII, or Louis XII, of France; also a saint, probably St. Louis.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., of Plymouth, forwarded a drawing of a gypserie, found at Bigsbury, Devonshire, and now deposited in the museum at Plymouth. The legend consists of—AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DO, which is continued on both sides of the bar. On one side of the shield are the letters IHS.

JUNE 19.

H. Syer Cuming, esq., exhibited an impression from a signet ring of an earl of Shrewsbury, now in the possession of Dr. Iliff, of Kennington.

Mr. Cuming also made some observations on carvings in Morse ivory, so generally used by the Scandinavians in place of the ivory of the elephant. Four interesting carvings of this description, representing figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and forming knife-handles, were exhibited, and will be figured and given, together with Mr. C.'s remarks, in a future *Journal*.

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited a specimen of the above kind, from the United Service Museum, at Whitehall, which, with a curiously carved abbot's ivory-handled knife, exhibited by Mr. Pratt, will be noticed and figured in Mr. C.'s forthcoming paper.

Charles Warne, esq., of Milbourne St. Andrews, communicated that the rev. Mr. Fry had brought to light a piscina and two or three recesses in the chancel of Sumpston church. The piscina is in a niche or recess, with a triangular head (similar to some of the small windows in the Tower), the stones of which are ornamented with an interlacing pattern—one of the other recesses (rectangular) has somewhat of a similar pattern. Another (a small double recess) is circular headed, formed by one stone, which is rudely ornamented with a pattern of running foliage; also a border, much like the pattern on the fragment of fig. 11 of plate VI, of the Headington remains (see pl. VI *ante*). Mr. Warne was quite satisfied that architects would place the sculptured stones as belonging to a very early period.

Mr. Warne also stated, that at Arundel church they have been scraping off whitewash in some parts and laying it on in others; the scraping has now brought to light some frescoes, traced in red chalk

or paint. Two are tolerably perfect; one, a male figure standing, from whose body are dragons or demons emanating, about to engulf in their open jaws the wretches doomed to destruction, who are representations of the seven carnal sins; the other fresco is more complicated and interesting, a circle parted in divisions, within which the subjects are portrayed,—one appears to be the administration of the sacrament to a sick or dying person, another the laying out of the body, a third the entombment, etc. of the dead.

The Chevalier Zahn laid before the Association a series of beautifully executed litho-chromatic plates, representing the frescoes and mosaics of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia, the result of ten years' investigation of these interesting remains.

J. R. Planché, esq., F.S.A., submitted a grant of Leadenhall by Margaret de Neville, in the year 1315. See *Original Documents*, p. 139 *ante*. Mr. Planché also made some observations on the confirmation charter of Ranulf II, earl of Chester; and on a compact between Ranulf de Blondville, earl of Chester, and William de Fougeres. These remarks are printed, pp. 131-138, and the charter itself, pp. 317-323 *ante*.

Alfred White, esq. produced a curious carved boss, formerly in the east cloister of the priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, in West Smithfield. It represents an abbot or prior and an abbess, standing face to face, with their staves over their shoulders, and holding up a beam of wood, which passes longitudinally before the figures. Mr. White brought the general history of the priory and hospital before the meeting, and illustrated the subject by plans and drawings. A more particular account of these will be rendered in a future *Journal*.

Mr. E. B. Price also exhibited two other bosses of a smaller size from the same cloisters; one representing a mermaid, with a comb and mirror, the other an angel, playing upon a stringed instrument resembling a guitar. These three sculptures were rescued from destruction some time since, during the excavation of the site of this cloister for the purpose of storing wood.

JULY 3.

Goddard Johnson, esq., of Norwich, exhibited a spear-head in black flint, weighing nearly four ounces. It was found in Burnt Fen, by Prickwillow, Ely, and is now in the possession of Mr. Barr of Ely.

John Lindsay, esq., of Cork, transmitted drawings of an "ancient crucifix, silver, originally gilt, but from which the gilding has been nearly worn away. It contains a relic in a square compartment over the head of the figure (see pl. xxxv, figs. 7, 8). This figure," Mr. Lindsay says, "appears to me to be one of the most ancient of the extremely

numerous specimens which have come under my observation, and can scarcely, I think, be of later date than the thirteenth century. With the drawings I enclose one of the reverse of a coin of Henry I (fig. 9); and you will also find, in my work on the Irish coinage, a similar type on a bracteate coin (pl. iv, No. 86); and I think you will agree with me in opinion that the age of these coins, and of the crucifix, which presents a similar cruciform figure on the reverse, cannot be far distant." Similar figures may be seen on the coins of Stephen (see *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. 51, pl. III).

Mrs. Graham, of Chichester, forwarded a coin of Allectus (third brass), which had been found between the lead lining and stone of the font in West Wittering church.

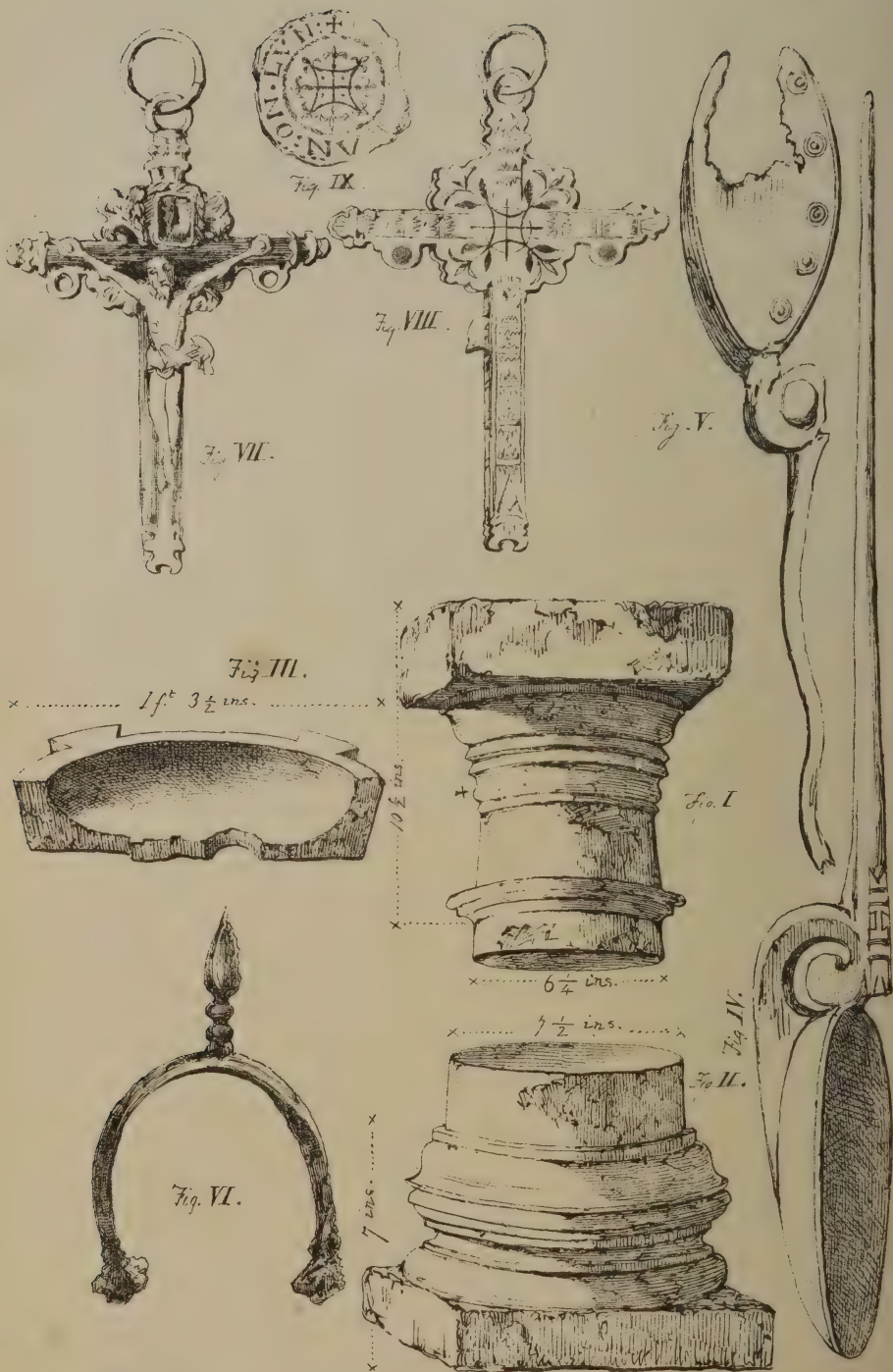
John Moore, esq., of West Coker, Somerset, exhibited a skull and other human bones, found in the fissure of a rock, about fifteen feet from the surface, at Ham-hill, near Yeovil. From examination of the skull made by Mr. and Dr. W. Pettigrew, it was clearly apparent that it had belonged to a young Roman female, corresponding in all its characters to the distinguishing marks of that people.

Mr. J. F. Baigent, of Winchester, forwarded the drawing of a fresco, or rather distemper painting, which he discovered beneath the whitewash, the 1st June last, on a visit to Soberton church, in the deanery of Droxford, Hampshire. It is painted on the north wall of the chantry chapel built on the south wall of the aisle, and now occupied as a private chapel, as it were, by Dr. Burney and his pupils of the military academy at Holywell. This pattern is mostly to be admired for its extreme simplicity, consisting of quadrangular compartments represented by lines, measuring about eight inches and a half by six inches, with only a cinquefoil, or as sometimes, quatrefoil pierced, placed in the centre of each; the whole is painted of a dark brown; the general idea of the pattern is something similar to that he discovered last year at St. Cross, for representation of which see p. 79 *ante*.

Mr. Baigent also exhibited a series of coloured drawings of paintings found in Wellow church, Hants, consisting of two crowned heads from the spandrels and scrolls round the jambs of the windows, belonging to the thirteenth century; also a drawing of a tile now in the library of Winchester cathedral, of about the same date, representing an archbishop, and a drawing of a coin found in the garden of the Benedictine convent at Winchester. Some observations on these antiquities, from the pen of J. G. Waller, esq., will appear in the next *Journal*.

Charles Baily, esq., F.S.A., exhibited the stone base and capital of a column, also part of a vessel formed of Purbeck stone, most probably a mortar, found in digging the foundations for a building on the west side of Mincing-lane, London. At about twelve feet from the surface the





workmen came to small portions of a tessellated pavement, laid in a pattern surrounded with a border formed of coarse red tesserae, each about one inch and a quarter square; beneath this pavement, and mixed with earth, were quantities of rubbish, in which was mixed broken Roman pottery, tiles, and concrete, to the extent of about two feet in depth. At this level there was a floor, formed of fine gravel, lime, and powdered tile, of a rich red colour; this was lying on the natural gravel. Between the two floors, the fragments Nos. 1, 2, and 3, on pl. xxxv, were found. This discovery appears to be the more worthy of notice, because it proves the existence of Roman remains of two distinct periods. The lower floor of concrete must have belonged to a building destroyed before that of which the tessellated pavement formed a part could have been erected; and although in many instances fragments of Roman works have been discovered in connexion with remains to which they could not have belonged, yet such strong evidence of Roman buildings of two periods do not appear to have been before noticed in London.

JULY 17.

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited a bronze weight found at Pakenham. On one side is represented a lion passant, and on the other a castle, from which it is suggested that it might have been a weight belonging to the city of Norwich. It weighs exactly seven ounces avoirdupois. An inscription runs round on both sides, but very few letters are sufficiently distinct to be decyphered.

James Elliott, esq., of Dymchurch, exhibited a drinking jug with figures and inscriptions in German: they relate chiefly to dancing, and other gymnastic performances. It is probably of the sixteenth century, and was found on the shore at Dymchurch, Kent.

AUGUST 7.

Mons. Delisle, of Valognes, forwarded some observations on the early introduction of windmills into Normandy and England (see pp. 403-406, *ante*.)

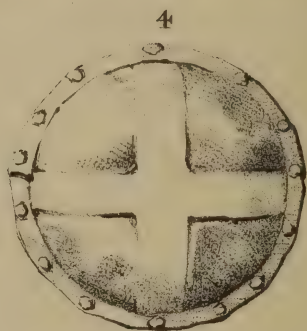
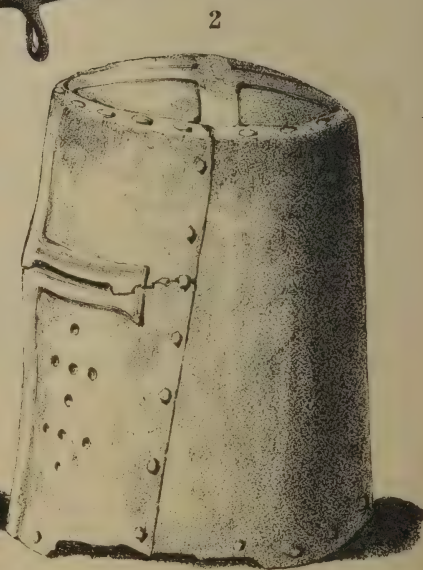
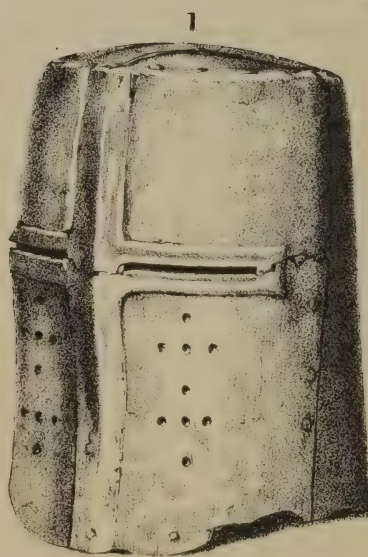
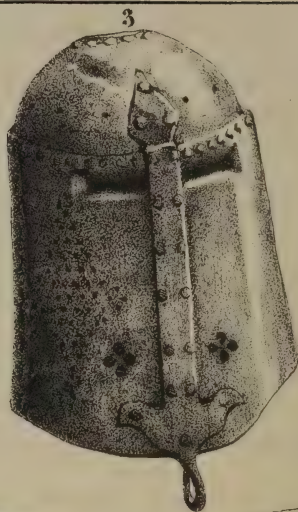
Mr. S. Pratt exhibited a helmet of the early part of the thirteenth century, *temp.* John or Henry III (see plate xxxvi, fig. 1 and 2).¹ It was found at the foot of a stone staircase, or flight of steps, by some workmen whilst clearing away the ruins of Eynsford castle, Kent. Mr. Planché congratulated the Association upon the remarkable fact that, during the last two years they had had the good fortune to see upon their table the most interesting series of helmets that had ever been exhibited in this

¹ Fig. 4 represents the top of the helmet.

country. Here was one of nearly the earliest form after the Conquest, an undoubted English specimen. Eynsford castle had been the residence of a family of that name. William de Eynsford possessed the castle and manor in the twelfth and thirteenth years of king John : and the helmet before them was of the form used at that period, as would be evident to any member who would take the trouble to compare it with that on the effigy at Durham, engraved by Stothard ; with those of two effigies in Furness abbey ; or any of the numerous illuminations representing armed knights of the first half of the thirteenth century. It covered the entire head and face, and rested on the shoulders ; so that, when forced round by a vigorous stroke of the hand, the wearer was severely hurt by it. In the romance of *Launcelot du Lac*, the helmet of a knight is said to have been so turned, that the edges grazed his shoulders and covered his armour with blood.

“Ses armes estoient toutes ensanglantées.”

A few months previously, a helmet of the immediately succeeding period, the reign of Edward I, had been exhibited to them by Mr. Knight of Clerkenwell (see plate xxxvi, fig. 3). Every means had been taken to throw discredit upon that interesting relic. Rival dealers had asserted that it was “made out of old boiler plates”, and Mr. Planché had been told there were persons who would “take him to the man who made it”, etc. etc. Mr. Planché had tested all this evidence, and had ascertained its utter falsity. He was satisfied, as he was from the first moment that he saw it, that it was a genuine specimen. It had come from Wells, in Norfolk, where it had been bought by Mr. Knight ; but its original resting place had not been discovered. It was identical in form with some of those formerly depicted on the walls of the painted chamber at Westminster, the coloured engravings from which are in the hands of the members of the Society of Antiquaries, having been published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, under the careful superintendence of their lamented director, Mr. Gage Rokewood. These paintings were originally executed during the reign of Henry III, and were partially restored at various periods during the reigns of the first and second Edwards. The civil and military costume they exhibit are therefore those of England, from about 1237, the date of the earliest notice found of them, to 1327, that of the death of Edward II. Both the flat-topped cylindrical helmet, and the curvilinear one, are to be seen in them ; the latter corresponding exactly with the specimen from Norfolk, which does not descend lower than the chin, and is furnished with a perpendicular bar of iron, terminating at the top with a fleur-de-lis, and at the bottom with a ring, like the later example on the brass of sir Roger de Trumpington, 1297, to which was attached a chain, that was fastened to the mammellière, or small ornamental plate, on the breast of the knight, to prevent the loss of the helmet when removed from the head. It would scarcely be believed that these two



perhaps unique examples of English defensive armour had been rejected by the parties entrusted with the conservation and improvement of the National Collection in the Tower of London,—the latter on the suspicion of its genuineness, and the former on the less defensible ground of expense! Forty or fifty pounds was considered an exorbitant price for this matchless curiosity,—the earliest helmet of the chivalric times which has yet been discovered: and this, not by a private individual, but the curators of a National Armoury; to view which the people pay their sixpences to a large amount annually; and who have exhibited a figure dressed in a suit of Mahratta mail, as a Norman crusader of the time of Edward I; a leathern target, with a pasteboard cross stuck upon it, as the banner blessed by the pope, and taken on the destruction of the Spanish Armada, and the partizan of the Spanish commander of that expedition, although it has the arms of sir Dudley Carleton engraved on the blade! The late sir Samuel Meyrick had great difficulty in obtaining a partial reform of the “Horse Armoury”, but was not allowed to interfere with the so-called “Spanish Armoury”, in which he declared he did not believe there was a single article of Spanish origin!

The Association are also indebted to Mr. Pratt for the exhibition of the chapel de fer of sir Robert de Bois, from Fersfield church, Norfolk; of a tilting helmet of the earlier part of Edward III's reign, from Norfolk; and a very fine specimen of the long chain shirt, or hauberk, of the twelfth century, from the Rust Kammer at Dresden.

SEPTEMBER 4.

Mr. Joseph Warren forwarded impressions of a very beautiful and rare silver Roman coin of Julia Domna, with the reverse of Geta. He states it to be perfectly black, owing to the soil it had lain in, and from which it had been condemned as a cast, and was suspected to be of Berlin iron. It was found in a village adjoining Ixworth, and Mr. W. entertains no doubt whatever as to the character of the metal from the appearance it presents when scraped.

James Clarke, esq. of Easton, Suffolk, exhibited an impression from a silver coin of Henry the Fourth of France, date 1604, weighing six dwts. five grains, which was found lately near Hoo church. Mr. Clarke also communicated that in laying down pipes for lighting the town of Framlingham with gas, the workmen had to break through the foundation of a wall at the foot of Mill Bridge on the Borough side of the river Ore, about eighteen inches thick, and that it appears to be coeval with the date of the castle, being built of the same description of stone, and as solid as a rock.

Jesse King, esq. of Abingdon, exhibited two gold rings, which were referred for future consideration. One was plain, and found in a garden

at Bicester. The other, an ornamented variety, was found two years since (as was stated to Mr. King by the person who sold it to him) at Longcote near Farringdon, on the finger of a skeleton, by labourers digging gravel. With it were several beads in variegated clay and glass, now in the Ashmolean Museum. The beads are such as are commonly found, according to Mr. King, with Anglo-Saxon sepulchral remains, and he therefore infers that this deposit may be ascribed to the Saxon period. Both rings are of considerable rarity; and similar specimens have been engraved under the term ring-money. The larger weighs two hundred and fourteen grains; the smaller, one hundred and nine.

John Bell, esq. of Gateshead, sent copies of two rubbings, taken one from a bell, the other from a mortar, found among some old metal at a bell-founder's in Newcastle. On the edge of the rim of the former was an ornamented cross immediately under the letters EN in Henriette, occurring in the following inscription, which is imperfect:—ET ✠ PQIRS ADRIEN N. H. IAN POI RIENO ET PRISET ✠ PARAIN ✠ ET ✠ * * * * MARAINE LEMOREI IE HENRIETTE RENAVLT ✠ AN ✠ 1724. On the mortar was an inscription:—AO 1643 LIEFDE VERWINT AL DINCK AO.

Joseph B. Yates, esq., F.S.A., of Liverpool, communicated to the Association two folio volumes of manuscripts, one entitled "A State of the Savoy Hospitall as well in relation to the Lands and Revenues formerly belonging thereto, as to the matter in dispute between the two Jurisdictions of the Exchequer and of the Duchy of Lancaster", written by T. Walker, Surveyor-General, and dated Dec. 5, 1739; the other, "On the Duchy Title to part of the possessions of the late Dissolved Hospital of the Savoy"; with an "Appendix of Proofs in support of the Dutchy Title to part of the Possessions of the dissolved Hospital of the Savoy: with further Remarks on the whole Case." These curious and interesting documents are reserved for particular examination, the results of which will probably appear in some future portion of the *Journal* devoted to original documents.

SEPTEMBER 18.

The following communication was received from John Taylor, jun., esq., of Colchester:—"When the deputation from the Archæological Association were in Colchester last year (see *Journal*, vol. v, pp. 133-143), they examined, with other remains in my grounds, a large block of stone, which had been recently discovered; and which, for more facile examination, was set on one end in the hole in which it was lying. After the most careful inspection, the party left—I believe, without ascertaining its nature. It has since that time been lying by the hedge near the spot where it was found, till Thursday last, when I directed it to be brought into the orchard; and on its arrival, immediately discovered on

one end (I suppose that which was in the ground when examined) several letters, as follow: those in the upper and second lines perfect; those in the lower line broken away, probably by the removal of a lower stone, on which the remainder of them had been cut. On examining the stone, I found, by the clamp grooves, that it had been attached to another, probably of similar dimensions, on which the remainder of the first two lines were engraved. The line of half letters also indicate other pieces of stone beneath this one. Am I right in conjecturing, from the circumstance of this stone being found in the Roman burial-ground, that it is part of a tomb or memorial? The mortise tells of some statue or device secured on the top. The D seems to be part of the usual prefix (D.M.) in tomb inscriptions."

D
AVR
AAI

Robert Fitch, esq., of Norwich, exhibited an impression from a Gnostic ring.

Patrick Chalmers, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of impressions from medieval seals, chiefly ecclesiastical; and one of a small seal, or signet ring, of Richard III, displaying the arms of that monarch,—France and England quartered, under an open crown, and surrounded by a collar of roses: a very interesting addition to our English regal series.



Mr. William Edwards, of Red-Cross-street, exhibited several impressions from rings and seals, which were referred for consideration.

C. Roach Smith, esq., F.S.A., exhibited some gold Roman and British coins, recently found in the Thames, near Kingston, where some laid before the Association last year had been met with. The gold Roman coins were of Justinian and of common types.

Justinian the first.—Obverse, DN IVSTINIANVS PP. AVG.; full-faced bust of Justinian, with a spear in the right hand. Reverse, VICTORIA AVG CC.; Victory standing, holding a long cross, which rests on the ground. In the exergue, COMOB.; a star in the field.

The British coin was of a type also well known. A similar one is engraved in Ruding, Plate I, No. 7, and in the *Numismatic Journal*.

Mr. Webb, of Rochester, acquainted the Association, that in taking down some houses to form an approach to a new bridge across the Medway, at Rochester, a discovery had been made of an early English arch, which formed a fragment of old St. Clement's church, and had been built into one of the house walls upon that formerly sacred spot. A good representation of this relic of antiquity may be seen in the *Illustrated London News*, for September 28th.

OCTOBER 2.

George Milner, esq., F.S.A., of Hull, presented to the Association an accurate drawing of the Saxon font in Kirkburn church, near Driffield,

Yorkshire, alluded to at p. 147, *ante*. It will be engraved, and an account given of it, in a future *Journal*, by J. G. Waller, esq., and Dr. William Bell.

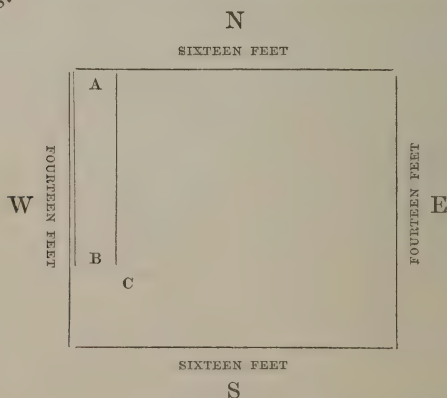
T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., laid before the Association a broken vase, containing a large number of Roman coins, which had been lately purchased for the Association, and of which an account, accompanied by an engraving, will appear in the next *Journal*. It was found in Charnwood Forest, near Loughborough.

H. Ecroyd Smith, esq., of Saffron Walden, exhibited a coloured drawing of a priming powder-flask, said to have been found at the Reculvers. It belongs to the fifteenth century.

A. H. Burkitt, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a coffret of the fifteenth century, lately purchased by him at Paris.

NOVEMBER 6.

W. W. Cobb, esq., of Brodgar House, Kent, made the following communication:—"Having been informed by a labourer, that he had frequently discovered the walls of a foundation about a foot below the surface of the earth while digging his garden, which is situate close to the old manor house, called 'Sutton Bawn', in the parish of Borden, Kent, I was induced to lay them open, in order to ascertain the size and form of the building.



"The first removal of earth took place at the spot marked A, in the accompanying plan, which soon disclosed two walls faced with mortar, about three feet deep, and the same width apart; these walls were traced to the spot marked B, where they both terminated. At the spot marked C, the earth was found to be exceedingly soft, and on digging down about a foot below the depth of the two walls, the skeleton of a body was discovered, which had apparently been interred in a wooden coffin, as eight iron corner-bindings, with small portions of woodwork remaining on them, and several large nails driven through, were found, four at one end, and four at the other, of the grave. One Roman brass coin, of the

emperor Victorinus, was dug up here. The body was placed with the face looking towards the east; and from this fact, I am inclined to think the burial must have been a Christian one; but whether the building, the walls of which are nearly four feet in thickness, is of Roman construction, I am unable to decide. None of the red mortar appears to have been used in building the walls; but several portions of it, as also of Roman tile, were discovered while excavating the interior. I must not omit to mention, that several human bones were found at different parts of the interior, but they appear to have been merely thrown in, disturbed probably at some remote period, the site having long been included in the garden."

The council, referring to the circumstance of the large iron nails found in the Roman building, described in Mr. Cobb's letter, would feel obliged by the communication of all authenticated facts connected with the discovery of nails in places of Roman sepulture. It has been noticed and recorded, that nails of large size have been found with skeletons and Roman or Romano-British remains; the general notion with regard to them has been, and is, that they were used in joining wooden frames or coffins for the bodies. Mr. Wire states, that he has found them, with indications of the wooden coffins, in nearly two hundred instances, in a Roman cemetery, at Colchester. Mr. C. Roach Smith mentions (*Collect. Ant.*, vol. i, p. 20), their being found in the burial-places at Strood, in Kent. In 1847, Mr. Bell communicated to the Association an account of the discovery of some Roman remains in Bourne Park, near Canterbury (see *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 47), with which, by the side of skeletons, were several of these large nails. In the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London" for 1850, it will be noticed, that Mr. C. W. Martin assigns reasons for believing that these nails had been used for the purposes of crucifixion. Others adhere to the generally received opinion respecting their use.

The Council would be happy to record further facts in connexion with this question, and impress on the attention of those who may notice similar discoveries to the above-mentioned, to examine the position of the nails in the graves, and their numbers, and also to specify all circumstances connected with their discovery. The microscope has been usefully employed in detecting the remains of wood, and in deciding its kind.

W. H. Brockett, esq., of Gateshead, communicated to the Association, that the matrix of a brass seal was found several years since in the church-yard of Long Newton, in the county of Durham, bearing letters in the inner circle (which contains a lamb, over which is a cross), which are difficult to decipher, but probably constitute some religious legend. They appear to be NOMEN : I. ABET. The outer inscription is distinct enough, and reads SIGILLVM WILELMI DE BROO.

Charles Warne, esq., of Milbourne St. Andrews, communicated letters from Mr. G. Roberts, of Lyme, and Thomas Colfox, esq., of Bridport, respecting the discovery of some pavements at Up Lyme, in Dorset. Mr. Roberts observes, that they had been covered over and thatched, for preservation, and that they would be shewn in the spring. The pavement actually disclosed is of the size of a room; the space where it is measuring about two hundred feet by eighteen feet. Some years since, a discovery of querns and coins was made at this spot, and a labourer is reported to have sold several of the coins at Exeter. The pavement is composed of white lias, blue lias, and red brick tesserae.

John Brent, jun., esq., of Canterbury, exhibited a key found in St. Gregory. It is medieval, and probably belonged to some of the ecclesiastics of the dissolved priory.

Alfred White, esq., exhibited an interesting seal, bearing the following inscription: "Sigillum comune de Kyngesthorp". It is represented in the annexed wood-cut. Baker alludes to it as lost. In *Domesday Survey*, Kingsthorpe is written Torp, and was held by the king himself. The inhabitants were permitted to hold their town at farm by lease from the crown. "It was probably first devised to them," says Baker, "by king John; for in 8 Henry III (1223), the sheriff was commanded to give the men of Kingsthorpe full seisin of Spelho hundred, as parcel of that manor, and held with it in the reign of king John". The



manor continued to be held by successive leases, till 1616, when it was granted in fee to certain feoffees, in trust for the other freeholders, at a yearly rent of £40. This rent was purchased by lord chief justice Rainsford, in 1674, of the trustees for the sale of fee-farm rents.

Kingsthorpe is a parochial chapelry of St. Peter's, Northampton. It is about a mile north of that town, at the divergence of the Leicester and Welford roads.

— Talbot, esq., of Tonbridge, exhibited two bronze rings, found at that place, on one of which was the letter R, surmounted by a crown.

NOVEMBER 20.

Mr. Russell exhibited a seal found in the Thames, on which was inscribed *Crede Michi*. A bird resembling a swallow is represented in the centre of the seal, which is of an elliptic form.

The rev. H. Jenkins, of Stanway, made the following communication through Mr. C. Roach Smith: "You know that I have long since held that the castle of Colchester is the site of the temple of Claudius, but from many circumstances (too numerous here to enumerate) I have lately been induced to consider not only that the walls of the castle are Roman, but that in the castle itself, stript and delapidated as it has been by the hand of the spoiler, may still be discovered decided traces of the temple and of the platform on which the altar was placed in its front, of the place of sacrifice, and of the part appropriated to the priests for their residence and culinary operations. A few of the leading citizens of Colchester accompanied me about a month ago to examine the castle and its precincts, and on entering the main gate, we observed that the groove of the portcullis came no further down than the level of the plinth which surrounds the castle, which is much higher than the surface of the present entrance, and that the bottom of the portcullis-groove would exactly mark the original level of the pavement of the castle. As we considered that at that height the castle must have been entered by a flight of steps, we obtained permission from Mr. Round to make what excavations we pleased at the doorway. We began therefore at the bottom of the large circular staircase, and continued our excavations through the doorway to the distance of eight yards in front of the doorway, and found along the whole distance a compact surface of masonry, which gradually sloped as we proceeded from the outside of the doorway towards the street. Within the castle we conjectured that on this surface of masonry the pavement had been laid, and without the doorway, from the bottom of the portcullis-groove, we supposed we could trace where the steps had been fastened in the projecting side wall. When we left off in our digging, we had sunk about eight feet under the road, but there was still strong masonry on every side. As soon as we can obtain accurate admeasurements of the various parts of the castle, and plans, including the terrace walk in Mr. Round's garden, we intend to draw up a paper, and leave the matter to be decided by the public voice. With regard to the statement that the walls of the castle are constructed with broken bricks and tiles, the debris of a former building, it is totally unfounded; for on examining carefully all parts of the castle, we found that the Roman bricks and tiles are all of them large and perfect, except where they have evidently been broken of late years."

Frederick Tabram, esq., of Nailsworth, forwarded a silver spoon, of the weight of one ounce, which was dug up on the 31st October, at Woodchester-park, late the residence of the earl Ducie. It is figured in plate xxxv, fig. 4, and somewhat resembles others given by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, pl. vii, and by Batteley, in his *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*. It however bears greater similarity to one very recently discovered at Cirencester (see pl. xxxv,



fig. 5), and may be regarded as Roman. The impressed ornaments around the inside of the Cirencester spoon, Professor Buckman, in a communication to Mr. C. Roach Smith, observes, serve to illustrate his remarks as to the ornamentation of ordinary domestic articles by the Romans (See *Antiquities of Richborough*, etc.).

DECEMBER 4.

Mons. Delisle, of Valognes, transmitted a copy of some ancient documents relating to Furness abbey (see pp. 419-424, *ante*).

Alfred White, esq., presented to the Association the drawing of an old timber house just pulled down at Islington, which was referred to Mr. Baily to be noticed in his additions to Mr. Adey Repton's forthcoming paper on ancient timber houses in the next volume of the *Journal*.

W. H. Rolfe, esq., of Sandwich, exhibited a Norman spur found in the Thames in November last (see pl. xxxv, fig. 6).

J. W. Paynter, esq., of Pembroke, forwarded the impression of a large ecclesiastical seal, recently dug out of an old building in Pembroke. In the centre, within an arch, are the Virgin and Child; and around the inscription: *Sigillum Prioris Provincialis Anglie Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum*.

DECEMBER 18.

James Clarke, esq., of Easton, communicated to the Association that he had lately hastily inspected one hundred and sixty-five pennies of Henry III, of several types, but all with the short cross, and he believes mostly of the London Mint. He adds, that there was one of Henry II with the cross in the angles,—in all one hundred and sixty-six, which were found a few days previous at the base of the Barbican of Framlingham Castle, by a mason who was repairing some steps: they were enclosed between two sheets of lead about nine inches long and six wide, and many of them were in good preservation, several of them however were divided into halves. Unfortunately Mr. Clarke had no time to examine them closely, as they were in his possession but a few minutes, and they were afterwards sold to a watchmaker in the town at about four shillings and sixpence the ounce, being nearly seven ounces. Mr. Clarke believes this be the first lot of coins known to have been found near the castle.

The rev. Edmund Kell, of Newport, made, through C. Roach Smith, esq., F.S.A., a further communication on the opening of some barrows some time since in the Isle of Wight. Mr. Kell writes: "In the fifth volume of the *Journal* of the Association, p. 365, a narrative is there given of the examination of the northern barrow on Arretton Down, by

some members of the Isle of Wight Society of National History and Antiquities, April 4, 1815, extracted from the memorandum-book of Thomas Cooke, esq. This gentleman, in a paper read before the members of the Society, May 9, 1815, and kindly placed in my hands, in a narrative of the above transaction in reference to another barrow on the same down, states : ‘A trench has within these few years been cut from the barrow which we explored, to one about ten yards to the westward, with a view to prevent carriages passing between them. In the ditch, about a foot from the surface, several small pieces of charcoal are visible. This barrow has lately been opened by the Commissioners of turnpikes. It was composed of a crust of earth and chalk, about two feet thick, covering a heap of picked flints. Several circular pots of coarse burnt clay were found by the labourers, containing calcined bones in small pieces. The pots were none of them got out entire. Under the centre of the heap, buried in the chalk, was found a skeleton in good preservation; part of an iron battle-axe, a pair of brass tweezers, together with the head of a spear, were found among the flints, and are now in the museum of the Society at Newport.’ This barrow here described,” Mr. Kell says, “is now fast disappearing, from the working of an adjoining chalk pit, which has already encroached one-half upon it. About forty-five yards to the south is another barrow, the crest of which has been removed, leaving a hollow space in the centre; and at about four hundred yards to the eastward is a fourth, of considerable dimensions, though now much reduced in height from the effects of time.”

The rev. Mr. Kell also forwarded an extract from a letter of the rev. J. Wilson, of Oxford, to Edmund Peel, esq., of Bonchurch, relative to the barrows on Wroxhall Down, at the opening of which both these gentlemen were present. The necessity of thus preserving a record of such transactions is obvious from this circumstance, amongst many others, that several of the barrows here referred to have entirely disappeared, the materials of which they were composed having been completely cleared away for the repairs of the roads. Mr. Wilson writes :—“In reply to your questions I can safely state, that my operations against the barrows were carried on in May (the latter part) and beginning of June 1825; but, alas! I have either not kept, or cannot find the memorandum of what was done. One or two very low barrows were first opened, in which we found the deposit, only about a foot down from the surface, in small vessels of unbaked clay, which broke in pieces the moment they were exposed to the sun and wind. The bones were so decomposed as to look exactly like the spawn of mushrooms, and we did not think they ever had been bones until after a very close examination. One barrow was ornamented with a belt of very large flints, about a yard wide, regularly set round it, there being no flints nearer than the beach. In this we found nothing. Another, which greatly excited our curiosity, was composed wholly of flints, and

pretty large. This was farther on upon the brow of the hill, and the workmen insisted that it had been opened. However, I made them go on until we found a piece of tobacco-pipe, and then consented to give in. The urn given to our museum at Oxford, was found in a tolerably high barrow, perhaps five feet down on the south-east side, the mouth filled with flints jammed into it, and turned downwards. The bones in all such cases that I have seen, appear to have been designedly *pounded*, as these were; and upon examining them, Dr. Kidd assured me he thought them those of a female and child, as far as could be judged. However incredible this may appear to you, it is a confirmation of this, that about eighteen months since, some bones which I found in a large barrow on the Berkshire Downs (they were not in an urn, but had been wrapped either in a cloth or skin), proved also to have been those of a female and child; for we found the child's lower jaw. It will be unnecessary to remind you of the reverence the ancient Britons paid to females. Afterwards Archdeacon Hill obtained permission for me to search some large barrows to the west of Bonchurch, in a place of which I forget the name.¹ These had been opened, and we found nothing but the place of cremation and quantities of wood ashes. With regard to the construction of the barrows, they clearly were *not Roman*. There was nothing Roman about them. I wrote at the time to sir R. C. Hoare to tell him what we had found, and in reply he said, that he considered these barrows some of the oldest to be found in Great Britain; so that sets them down at once as British. The Danes were in the island, but we found nothing that belonged to that people; and the urns, in composition, shape, and material were clearly British. Not so those turned with a wheel and found near Yarmouth."

In concluding these notices, Mr. Kell regrets that he has not been able to obtain the particulars of the opening of several barrows in a group of seven on Brooke Down, which were explored by a party consisting of Captain Jervis, of the Shropshire Militia, Mr. James Howe, of Brooke House, and others, about thirty years since. No account of this transaction was ever given to the public. Urns and other valuable relics were found on the occasion, which were long lying about the premises of the adjoining farm; but no vestige of them can now be discovered, affording another example of the necessity of preserving a suitable record of such undertakings.² A considerable number of barrows between this spot and Freshwater-gate remain unopened, and it is hoped ere long an efficient investigation of them may be made.

¹ Week, Rue, and Span downs.

² This is only one instance from a hundred which could easily be cited to prove the disastrous effects of ransacking barrows merely to gratify idle

curiosity. It is, probably, to such an ill-directed exploration, that the supposed helmet mentioned by Mr. Dennett (*Transactions of the Winchester Congress*, p. 151) refers.—c. r. s.

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited to the Association a Laplander's drill-bow of ivory, with a variety of figures engraved on it; and Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper "On the Drill and Drill-Bow," illustrated by various specimens, and particularly describing this curious antiquity. The following are extracts from this paper:

"The first boring instrument was a sharp point, revolved by hand, like the *efoo* or gimlet of the Friendly Islanders, which consists of a shark's tooth secured to the end of a small wooden handle. But this simple tool must have soon been found insufficient to pierce very hard substances, and thus the workmen would be compelled to contrive an instrument of greater strength, and call in the aid of mechanical means to give rotation to it.¹ Such an instrument is found among the aborigines of Bowdich Island, in the Southern Pacific Ocean; where a rude drill is in use, formed of a long shaft pointed with a hard stone, above which is a flat wheel to act as a flyer. Instead of a bow a straight bar is employed, with a long line convoluted round the shaft; and the motion is communicated by a vertical movement of the hand, and when practised by a native is exceedingly rapid.²

"We have here a drill on the same principle as the above, but manufactured after the natives had been visited by some American or European voyagers. It measures three feet one inch and a half in length, and is formed of an iron rod pointed with a fish-hook, which is straightened and bound on with vegetable fibres. At the upper end is a flattish knob, upon which the hand rested while the tool was revolved by the line and bar held horizontally.

"These examples probably show us the drilling instruments in their rudest and most simple form.

"As to the origin and antiquity of the art of drilling, Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii, 57) tells us that Dædalus, who lived between twelve and thirteen hundred years before the Christian era, was the inventor of the drill and bow. But whether this Athenian artificer was or was not the contriver of these instruments, it is certain that they were well known to the ancient Egyptians; for they have been found in the tombs at Thebes. In the British Museum are specimens of bronze drills with wooden handles or wheels, a drill-plate of wood two inches and a half long, and a bow of wood one foot seven inches and a quarter long, which were discovered with other tools in a large oval basket of palm fibre, by James Burton, esq. Neither of the drills have any part of the shank projecting through the wheel,

¹ Sir J. F. Davis, in his account of the Chinese (ii, 239), says, "Carpenters work their awls with a thong, whose two extremities are attached to the two ends of a stick. The thong being quite slack, a single turn of it is

taken round the handle of the awl, which is then worked backwards and forwards with great velocity."

² An engraving of this drill is given in Wilkes's *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. v, p. 17.

which was steadied by being received into the cup-shaped drill-plate; nor have the wheels any collar to retain the strap or line in its place. But we have here a very small drill-wheel of bronze, which exhibits the groove around which the line of the bow was passed; and from its perforated centre it is evident that the shank must have passed through it, and been received into a socketed drill-plate. This specimen was discovered in a Theban tomb; it is of neat workmanship, and much resembles the modern tool. The Egyptian drills must have been well wrought and of great strength; for we find objects fashioned out of the hardest stones, pierced, to string as personal ornaments. As an example of Egyptian drill-work, we have before us a scarabæus of cornelian, one inch and a quarter long, which is perforated from end to end.

“The holes pierced through the Babylonian cylinders of the hardest stone, attest the knowledge which the people of Western Asia must have possessed of the drill at a very early period. And both the archaic Greeks and Romans were well acquainted with the instrument. The Greeks denominated the drill *τροπανιον*; and among the Romans the tool was called *terebra*. We learn its form from a painting found at Pompeii, wherein Dædalus is seen at work upon the brazen heifer which he made for Pasiphæ, the wife of Minos, king of Crete; for by his side is a slender bow of elegant form, like the arcus used in war, and a *terebra* with a conic bit, a wheel with a collar at each end, and the shank projecting through it to be received into a socket in the drill-plate. Etruscan, Greek, and Roman beads, the heads of pins, gems for rings and many other trinkets wrought of the hardest stones, are found beautifully perforated. And many examples of Roman pottery have been exhumed in this country in which holes have been drilled, and the pieces united with metal rivets, in the same way as practised at the present day.

“The tribes of the Britannic Islands must have been familiar with the drill at a very remote period; for we find, both in this country and in Ireland, what are denominated Druid beads, and various ornaments of crystals, cornelian, agate and other hard stones with perforations through them, which must have required well-tempered tools to execute, and evince the skill of the British *mænydd* or lapidary. There is a crystal bead upwards of an inch long, exhumed in Ireland along with a number of others, which proves to what a high degree of perfection the ancient Hiberno-Celts had arrived at in the art of drilling.

“In the Cymraeg dialect the drill was called *trwyddew*; the piercer or borer, *ebill bychan*, i.e., the little auger, and *trul*; hence the verb *trulïaw*, to drill a hole.

“What appears to be a drill, was discovered by sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart., in a Celtic barrow at Winterbourn Stoke, in Wiltshire. It was little more than three inches long, the bit formed of bronze, the wheel of

ivory. The latter was broad at the ends and slender in the middle, so that the line of the bow could be easily kept in its place.¹

"In the excavations carried on in different parts of London have been found long quadrangular spikes of iron, which have been pronounced ancient drills; but it is uncertain whether we ought to regard them as Romano-British, Saxon, or early mediæval. Before us is one which measures thirteen inches in length. It was exhumed along with Roman remains in making the cutting for the railroad through Bermondsey, in July 1847. At the same time were found other specimens of the like form, but differing in size.

"With regard to the materials employed in the formation of the drill-bow we may observe, that wood and cane, horn, whalebone, steel, and even ivory, have all been used for the purpose in different countries.

"The drill-bows of the Esquimaux are wrought out of the tusks of the *ēi-ñ-ēk*, or morse. They are slender, measuring about fourteen inches in length, and pierced at each extremity to receive the line, which is formed of a thin thong of seal's skin. We have here an example of one of these bows, which was obtained at Cape Mulgrave, Behring's Straits, in 1826.

"Through the kindness of our excellent vice-president, Mr. Pettigrew, we are enabled to inspect a rare and curious example of an ancient Lappic drill-bow, which, like those of the Esquimaux, is formed of Morse ivory. It measures one foot three and a quarter inches in length; is four-sided; each face being engraved with various figures and devices, the lines filled with some black substance, and the ends perforated to admit the string, which is generally formed of the split sinews of the rein-deer. On one side, the decorations commence with the figure of an ermine; next to it appears a skin mounted as a flag; and by it stands a strange beast, with its back arched, and its tail elevated, as if irritated by a person who is before it holding up both hands. Then comes another ermine, and this is succeeded by two barrow-shaped sepulchral mounds, with memorial posts on either side. A large ovate fish next appears, perhaps the roff, which serves the Lapps for bread. After this we have two standards formed of skins, with the legs and tails of the animals standing out like streamers; then we see birds flying in the air, and natives in their canoes, resembling the skin baidars of the western Esquimaux. One of the canoes is loaded with a long fish, and is being dragged over the ice by a man with the help of a dog; then we have another of the ovate fish, and some odd looking animals. These are followed by gallows-shaped frames, upon which skins, or pieces of wadmal-cloth, are hung to dry; and between them two koddas, or conic huts, formed of

¹ With this instrument was found a round the upper part, much like some dagger and spear-head of bronze, and of the Chinese succade jars. — See Hoare's *Ancient Wills*, pl. xv, p. 123.

timbers, covered with the bark of fir or birch; at the end are two seals. On the opposite side of the bow the decorations are not engraved with so much regularity of position as the one we have been considering. One end presents us with the figure of a great whale; the other, with two men dragging along an enormous fox, a rope being tied to its tail for the purpose, and a herd of rein-deer in the water pursued by a native in a canoe. Reversing the bow, we have three birds in procession, two seals, one of whom is ascending a bank; then a creature with a round head, and hand raised, which reminds us of the Egyptian androsphinx in the act of adoration; then come some other devices, and three animals like the elegant jerboa, springing forward on their hind legs; two rein-deer and a fox complete the picture. The concave face of the bow displays a variety of birds, beasts, and fishes, enough to stock a Noah's ark, and confound the genius of a Cuvier, or an Owen, to identify with existing species. Deer and whales, seals and fowls of the air, are scattered about in profuse confusion; but one or two items in this melange must be pointed out. We have Lapps in their fur clothing,—in one place attacking their prey from canoes; in another, the hunter lays flat upon the ground, and hurls his harpoon at an enormous seal, or morse. There is also shewn the interior of a kodda, or hut. The bark walls are marked with criss-cross lines; a cooking-pot, like that used by the Esquimaux, is suspended from an horizontal bar, supported at each end by uprights. There is a division in the apartment formed with stakes, which looks somewhat like a temple, and from it projects a bar, upon which is hung a row of fish to dry. There are but few figures upon the convex face of the bow; but those few are of much interest. First, there is a native in his boat-shaped sledge, drawn by dogs; then two fur-clad Lapps, dancing; further on is a figure, armed with a bow-and-arrow, which he is directing towards a gigantic bird with outstretched wings, which is as tall as its assailant, and almost as lofty as a rein-deer, which is seen in perspective by its side; then there is another bird in flight, a four-footed beast, and a canoe with a native in it. But perhaps the most remarkable feature upon this part of the instrument is the eyelet-hole decorations; a device which we find adorning the early implements and vessels discovered in the north, and the most ancient Teutonic reliquiæ exhumed in this country.

“Taking this drill-bow as a whole, it unfolds to us an interesting pictorial history of the social life of the Lappic race. On it we see the exterior and interior of their dwellings, their cooking apparatus, their hunters engaged in the pursuit of game, and all the fish, birds, and beasts, of the chase which yield them food and clothing; we see their means of transit through the water in their light canoes, and over the snow-clad wastes in their swift-moving sledges, and even the sepulchral mounds of their dead. Such records, however rude, are of the greatest value, and

especially so of an ancient people like the Lapps, who are probably the descendants of one of the first tribes who emigrated from Asia to Europe, and who have been gradually dispossessed of their lands and driven northward by the intrusion of Celtic and Germanic hordes. The Boreal tribes now inhabiting Finland and Lapland, appear to have once occupied a much more important position in ancient Scandinavia than they do at the present day. Both the Finns and Lapps call themselves *Suomi*, i.e., Morass-men, and they are spoken of by Strabo under the name of *Zoumi*. They are described by the classic writers as extremely savage and filthy. Tacitus (*De Moribus Germ.*) speaks of the Finni as a poor and barbarous people, without arms, horses, or houses, their food herbs, their clothing the skins of beasts, the ground their bed, placing all their trust in their arrows, which for want of iron they headed with bone. The men and women lived by hunting, and the only shelter for young and old were the boughs of trees.

“According to the theory of some, a Lappic or Finnic race formed not only the earliest inhabitants of Scandinavia, but of the greater part of north-western Europe, including our own island. If the foregoing hypothesis be correct, this Lappic drill-bow becomes of interest to us, not merely as a primitive type of an archaic instrument, but as the production of a branch of that family who are believed to have been the first inhabitants of our land, and whose descendants are supposed to be yet located on the eastern shores of Scotland about Moray.¹ Viewing the drill-bow in this light, it becomes intimately connected with our national antiquities, and points to that primeval era of our country’s existence about which the page of chronicle is a blank, and the tongue even of tradition is silent.”

¹ See Walker’s *Physiognomy founded on Physiology*. London, 1834, p. 116. It has been said, that the Lap cannot live without his rein-deer; and it is therefore worthy of note, that the antlers of rein-deer have been disco-

vered in the marl pits in Scotland.—See Kerr’s *Animal Kingdom*. London, 1792, p. 297. The lichen (*cenomyce rangiferina* of Acharius), which forms the food of the rein-deer, is indigenous to Britain.

ERRATA.

In Plate XI, for fig. 1, read 3; and for fig. 3, read 1.

Page 7, lines 17 and 18, for "twelfth", read "thirteenth"; and for "thirteenth" read "fourteenth".

— 12, line 29, for "Walter de Gifford", read "Walter de Clifford".

— 153, line 40, for "SIGERIE HET", read "SIGERIC HET"; and for "Sigerihet had", read "Sigeric had".

— 203, line 12, for "fifteenth", read "fourteenth"; and for "and", read "but".

— 205, line 7, for "Anjou", read "Ango (*i. e.*, Eu)".

— 208, line 13, for "1835", read "1385".

— 245, line 4, for "ICON AVORUM", read "NOSTRORUM".

— 247, line 11, for "Dianio Antonino", read "Dianius Antoninus".

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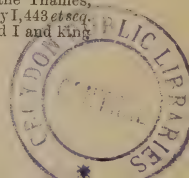
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